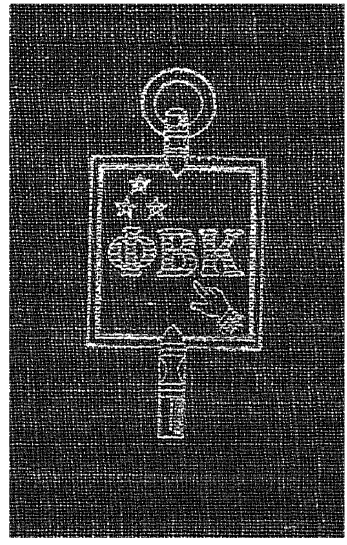


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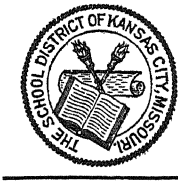
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THE HISTORY OF PHI BETA KAPPA

The History of

PHI BETA KAPPA

by

OSCAR M. VOORHEES, D.D., LL.D.

Phi Beta Kappa Historian



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Preface

UNTIL NOW, more than a century and a half after its foundation at the College of William and Mary in Virginia, the history of the Phi Beta Kappa Society has not been written. For a time its origin was shrouded in mystery and fantastic tales of its foreign origin were repeated; then various short accounts were attempted, all inadequate and more or less incorrect. Meanwhile the Society, having survived an early threat of extinction, expanded slowly for half a century in New England (and an adjacent area in New York) and then a little more rapidly for another half century, chiefly in the northeastern states; till after a hundred years twenty-five branches, or chapters, had been established. After their federation as the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa growth was more rapid, until now there are 141 chapters, its character as the oldest and most famous academic honor society in America is completely recognized, and its standards and procedures are increasingly well defined.

The studies which have culminated in this important volume may be said to have begun when in 1890 Dr. Voorhees, then a theological student, prepared a historical paper based on the *Original Records* of the parent Society at Williamsburg. His interest in the Society's history was maintained during his long and devoted service as the third Secretary of the United Chapters, and has been brought to fruition by his labors as Historian of the Society since his retirement from the Secretaryship in 1931. The records of all the earlier chapters have been scrutinized, many unknown or unnoticed documents have been brought to light, and the whole story has taken shape and been given perspective for the first time. This published narrative and the mass of supporting materials now on file constitute an invaluable record.

The History of Phi Beta Kappa is necessarily in the main a constitutional history. It is the history of a creative idea and of the consequent organic growth of a great American institution. Because it caught the imaginations of students, faculties, and alumni in the colleges where it first took root, it has survived and gone from strength to strength. But its story is in the main the story on the one hand of an intellectual fellowship, with anniversary addresses and dinners, and on the other hand of the practical problems of chapter business—laws and by-laws, methods of choosing members, procedures with regard to the establishment of new branches, and the relation of the Society to the sheltering institutions. Some of this is naturally of a local or special interest, but it

was important that it should be told, both for the record itself and because without it the general picture would be incomplete.

There are, of course, lively, spicy, and dramatic incidents in the story, some of which find a place in Dr. Voorhees' narrative—fantasies, jealousies, clashes of personalities, even acts of violence—more outspoken or forthright in the earlier days, but none the less present in our own; though for obvious reasons the brainstorms and the conflicts of opinion of recent years must be read, if at all, between the lines.

Dr. Voorhees has rightly attempted little generalization with regard to the role played by Phi Beta Kappa in the history of American education or the social evolution in America. The direct and corporate effect has been slight. It has been self-regarding in a sense; that is, it has been chiefly concerned with its individual members: with the encouragement of scholarship by recognition of attainment, and by addresses on the regularly recurrent theme of the public duty of educated men. In recent years, it is true, especially during the dynamic Secretaryship of Dr. Shimer, the Society has engaged in some heart-searching as to its possible responsibility in such matters as educational theory and practice (defense of the liberal arts and sciences and of freedom of teaching and inquiry), democracy, social reform; and it has taken at least one successfully constructive step in the founding of "a quarterly for the independent thinker," *The American Scholar*. But it has moved with great caution and only slightly departed from its historic aloofness from particular causes, however good. On the other hand its roster of leaders in the life of our country has unique distinction.

The present Committee on the History and its predecessors desire to express on behalf of the author and themselves their grateful appreciation of the valuable assistance rendered by many persons while the *History* has been in preparation. This includes the chapter officers who have searched their records and made helpful suggestions, and the Senators, historians, and others whose advice has been sought from time to time—and sometimes heeded. To the merits of the completed work all these have contributed in a substantial degree; for its shortcomings they are in no way responsible.

W. T. H.

Author's Foreword

THE NEED of a history of the Phi Beta Kappa, realized soon after the organization of the United Chapters, became acute as the 150th anniversary neared, but no one was then in a position to make the needed researches. As Secretary of the United Chapters the writer had become familiar with many phases of the history, and as editor of *The Phi Beta Kappa Key* had encouraged the preparation of histories of all the early chapters. Eighteen of these had been published, giving valuable data, but few authors had studied all available sources, and the interrelation of the chapters had been given too little attention. Six chapter histories were still awaited. The Secretary's report to the Council of 1928 explained the situation, and that many of the articles written were not wholly satisfactory. Later researches had revealed errors in statement or implication that needed correction. Hence a restudy of all available sources would be necessary before an adequate history of Phi Beta Kappa could be made ready for publication.

Though requested by the Senate to prepare material for a proposed historical handbook, the routine duties of the Secretary left little time for such a task. So he fell in with the proposal that the Council of 1931 be requested to create the office of Historian. Being duly elected he began the work at once, and by the succeeding Council was chosen Historian for life.

He believed that the history of the first century of the Society, or until the organization of the United Chapters in 1883, was sufficient for a first volume, and that a succeeding volume might deal with later years, and wrote the story of the first period with much fullness. He later accepted the judgment of the Senate that the history of the Society to the present should be included in a single volume, a decision which made a thorough revision and much condensation necessary. To complete the work a history was prepared of the forty-five years to and including the exercises held in the autumn of 1926 at the College of William and Mary in celebration of the Society's 150th anniversary. When it was decided to continue the history to the present, this portion had also to be revised. To condense the extended material at hand into one volume without omitting events deemed important did not prove easy.

In the accumulation of sources all the earlier chapters gave valued aid, supplying copies of records and photostats of many important documents. In addition not a few libraries were visited and long-hidden papers found, some of unique value. It thus became increasingly clear that mem-

bers of Phi Beta Kappa had exercised large influence in the development of the social, political and educational life of America. It was also the progenitor of the undergraduate college fraternities, and later of numerous honor fraternities, all of which bear Greek-letter names. These and other facts are revealed in the numerous quotations in the text.

In revision of the manuscript the writer has been guided by the advice of the Council's Committee on the History, a group of historians with Senator Hollon A. Farr (later succeeded by Senator William T. Hastings) as Chairman. The final report of this committee was presented to the Senate in December, 1940; whereupon the Senate under authorization of the Council of 1940 appointed a Senate committee consisting of Senators Hastings (Chairman), Will D. Howe, and Dorothy Kenyon. In 1942 the Committee was empowered to proceed with preparations for publication.

The valued assistance of Senators Will D. Howe and William T. Hastings is here acknowledged; also that the form of the concluding chapter rests with them and with Dr. William A. Shimer, who was Secretary during most of that period.

The completed work is now submitted to the members of the Society, and to all who are interested in the development of American life and education.

OSCAR M. VOORHEES

NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J.
September, 1945.

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CHAPTER I

The Founding of the Society

THE YEAR 1776 was not only fateful in the history of the American people, it also marked the beginnings at William and Mary College in Williamsburg, Virginia, of the Phi Beta Kappa, a society unique in American education. The earliest extant records of the fraternity are the minutes of the meeting at which it was organized. They enumerate the "Founding Fathers" and give the text of the "oath of fidelity" taken. They also describe the first election of officers and the plans for the drawing up of a constitution.

The minutes tell us:

"On Thursday, the 5th of December in the year of our Lord God one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six and the first of the Commonwealth, a happy spirit and resolution of attaining the important ends of Society entering the minds of John Heath, Thomas Smith, Richard Booker, Armistead Smith, and John Jones, and afterwards seconded by others, prevailed, and was accordingly ratified.

"And for the better establishment and sanctitude of our unanimity, a square silver medal was agreed on and instituted, engraved on the one side with SP, the initials of the Latin Societas Philosophiae, and on the other, agreeable to the former, with the Greek initials of Φ . . . B . . . K . . . and an index imparting a philosophical design, extended to the three stars, a part of the planetary orb, distinguished.

"In consequence of this, on Wednesday the 5th of January, 1777, a session was held in order both to adopt a mode of initiation and to provide for its better security.

"And first in corporation, an oath of fidelity being considered as the strongest preservative, an initiation was accordingly resolved upon and instituted as follows:

"I, A. B., do swear on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, or otherwise as calling the Supreme Being to attest this my oath, declaring that I will, with all my possible efforts, endeavor to prove true, just, and deeply attached to this our growing Fraternity; in keeping, holding, and preserving all secrets that pertain to my duty, and for the promotion and advancement of its internal welfare.

"Whereupon the oath of fidelity being thus prescribed and instituted, was afterwards severally administered to the respective gentlemen, viz.:

John Heath, Thomas Smith, Richard Booker, Armistead Smith, John Jones, Daniel Fitzhugh, John Stuart, Theodorick Fitzhugh, and John Stark as the first essays and rudiments to an initiation. In consequence of this, we severally, freely, and jointly proceeded to the election of officers, proper and most suitable for its internal regulation.

"Upon the recommendation of three members, viz.: John Heath as President, Richard Booker as Treasurer, and Thomas Smith as Clerk, the society esteeming them as necessary persons for the functions of their several duties accordingly selected them.

"The fraternity having gone through the business of the present session, after a recommendation of certain proper and salutary laws, to be prepared against the next ensuing meeting of March the 1st. jointly adjourned.

"March 1st. Agreeable to the recommendation of our preceding session, we have severally presented the subsequent laws as proper and most conducive to the advantage of our growing fraternity.

"Resolved, 1st. That in every design or attempt, whether great or small, we ought to invoke the Deity, by some private sacrifice or devotion, for a fraternal prosperity.

"2. That a profanation of the preceding oath of fidelity subjects the Member to the pain of the universal censures of the Fraternity as well as the misery of certain expulsion."

Other laws will be noted later.

The Capitol and the College at Williamsburg, nearly a mile apart on Duke of Gloucester Street, had together fostered the civic and educational interests of Virginia. Between them stood Bruton Parish Church, a symbol of the Christian background of the colony.

Political conditions were not happy during the decade which followed the Stamp Act. The demands of the citizens for larger power in government encountered an attitude so unyielding that, on Virginia's proposal, the Declaration of Independence followed. By the summer of 1776 the last vestige of royal government had disappeared from Williamsburg, and Patrick Henry, as head of the new government, was setting up a more sympathetic administration. These events had impressed the students in the College, many of whom had been drawn into the conflict.

The College of William and Mary, dating back to the second decade of the colony, received its royal charter in 1693. For some years more students were entered in the Grammar School than in the Philosophy School, but the few who obtained commissions and the larger number who completed their courses did much to promote the cultural and religious life of the new colony. The stately Christopher Wren Building,

erected in 1695 and rebuilt after a fire in 1705, was a worthy symbol of the educational aspirations of the College. In 1723 Brafferton Hall was erected for the needs of Indian youth and President's House was added in 1732.

The college had grown in reputation, and during the years preceding the War for Independence was well directed. However, President John Camm and some of his associates were of strong Tory leanings and could not be retained. James Madison, who had received his degree in 1772, was chosen president in the spring of 1777, and had for faculty associates, Robert Andrews and John Bracken. Madison had begun teaching at the College in 1773, and three years later had been ordained to the Christian ministry in England. Shortly after he became president, he added to his duties command of the College company of militia. Young men with Loyalist sympathy did not remain at the College and many students did not stay to complete their courses. College exercises were continued with fair regularity until 1780, when an approaching British force suddenly brought an end to the work of the College.

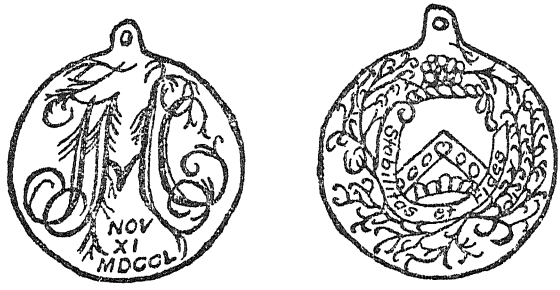
Phi Beta Kappa was not the first college society. In all early colleges the students formed organizations; for example, at Yale, Linonia was begun in 1753 and Brothers in Unity in 1768; at the College of New Jersey at Princeton, American Whig dated from 1769 and Cliosophic from 1770.

For half a century after its birth, Phi Beta Kappa was considered the first society organized at William and Mary, but as William Short wrote to Edward Everett in 1831: "There had existed for a long space of time another society at William and Mary. The initials on its medal (P.D.A.) were understood to indicate Latin Words." No further trace of such a society at the College came to light until 1880, when Secretary Robert A. Brock of the Virginia Historical Society at Richmond obtained possession of photographs of its medal, obverse and reverse, on which he made this memorandum: "Medal of the Flat Hat Club, Williamsburg." The Brock memorandum may be correct, but in all extant documents the name is "F.H.C. Society." So Thomas Jefferson, who was a member, wrote in 1819. The date on the medal is "Nov. XI MDCCL."—about a quarter of a century before Phi Beta Kappa was organized. Was it the society called P.D.A. by William Short in 1831? If it was not, then there must have been two societies in Williamsburg before 1776.

In 1916 drawings of this medal were shown to President Lyon G. Tyler of the College by Harold Randolph, a great-great-great-grandson of James Innis, to whom as a member it had belonged. Innis, a Scot, son of an Oxford graduate, had come to Virginia in 1770, had been for a time a foundation scholar at William and Mary, and in 1772 had been appointed

Assistant Usher and then Usher at the Grammar School. The medal from which the drawings had been made was thought to be the only one in existence until another was discovered at Williamsburg in 1932. This one is now in the College Library.

References to F.H.C. show that it was not strictly an undergraduate society, for instructors and townspeople were members. Thomas Jefferson wrote that "It was confined to the alumni of that Institution," that "it was confined to the number of six students," but had "no useful object." William Short, in the letter already mentioned, declared, "There was at



Oldest Fraternity Badge

the same time at the College a youth whose reputation as a Hellenist was so far beyond that of the others, that he valued himself exclusively on it. The P.D.A. Society had lost all reputation for letters and was noted only for the dissipation of its members.

"Whether they [Members of P.D.A.] refused to admit our Hellenist or he was unwilling to join them I do not now recall, but so it was that he determined to get up another Society in opposition, and in conformity with his own reputation formed and adopted the Greek phrase indicated by the initials. Whether it be pure I would not now say. At that time none of us supposed that anything more pure could have been formed in Athens, such was the opinion of the great learning of our founder."

The young "Hellenist" had reason for thinking that the time was ripe for a new society. The names of this student and his associates who organized Phi Beta Kappa were not known to any members outside of Virginia until 1848, when the Society's records were deposited in the Virginia Historical Society.[1] The list of members, first published in 1855,

[1] The *Virginia Historical Society Register,* Volume 2, page 52, in which was printed an account of the quarterly meeting held December 14, 1848, in the librarian's report of "books and other things," contains this item: "The original Record of the *Phi Beta Kappa Society,* established at William and Mary College in 1776. By Robert H. Cabell of Richmond." No other statement printed at the time respecting these records has been discovered.

contained forty-four names, headed by that of John Heath. In 1874 the names were published again, with but one omission, in a history of the College of William and Mary, including the General Catalogue. No effort was made to supply the missing names until 1896, when the complete roster was published by President Lyon G. Tyler. Nineteen names, not including Heath's, appeared on the charters sent to New England. From the charter of the Alpha of Massachusetts Edward Everett learned in 1831 that William Short had been president of the Society at William and Mary, wrote to him and received a reply. Not until the printing of the list could the name of the youth who proposed the new society be more than surmised.

That the first meeting was held in Apollo Hall in the Old Raleigh Tavern in Williamsburg was first set forth in a history of the College published in 1859.

The Original Records

The minutes of the early society consist of twenty-five sheets of rough unsized paper, measuring seven and three-quarters by twelve inches, written on both sides. The first page contains a list of forty-nine names, George Lee Turberville's being omitted by oversight. The second page is blank. The third page contains an introductory statement respecting the first meeting and is followed by pages four to nine on which the "oath of fidelity" and twenty-seven "proper and salutary laws" were carefully written—the record of the second and third meetings, held to complete the organization. The tenth is blank, and the minutes of seventy-seven meetings occupy pages eleven to fifty. Carefully bound, these pages are among the Alpha's treasured archives at William and Mary College.

The minutes of the first meeting contain only the initials of the Greek and Latin mottoes, as the letters following them were carefully erased. There has been, however, no disagreement in the interpretation of the Greek motto, for it was remembered by many initiates. There was less certainty as to the Latin words, for Secretary Eben B. Parsons of the United Chapters, in a report published in 1897, noted that at least eight conjectures were current among the chapters. While at Williamsburg as a delegate to the Ninth National Council in 1907, Edward A. Birge, Dean of the University of Wisconsin, and later President, demonstrated that *Societas Philosophiæ*—words then used by the Alpha Society—were correct.

William Short wrote in 1831 that John Heath had "formed and adopted the Greek phrase indicated by the initials." A Latin source of this phrase was suggested by Professor Edward Fitch of Hamilton College in what he termed a "philosophical conjecture" in an article published in

March, 1909, in *The Classical Weekly* of New York, by quoting from the "Tusculan Disputations of Cicero," V, Chapter 2, section five, "*O vitæ Philosophia dux.*" John Heath used Κυβερνήτης as the equivalent of the Latin *dux*.

A month passed before another meeting, during which time a silversmith, possibly William Geddy, whose shop was at the corner of Duke of Gloucester Street and Palace Green, across the Green from Bruton Parish Church, was asked to make and engrave medals. Four fellow students were let into the secrets and pledged.

Saturday was fixed as the evening for regular meetings. On March 1, 1777, the members met to adopt the laws that were for two years to be the Society's constitution. "Agreeable to the recommendation of our preceding session we have severally presented the subsequent laws as proper and most conducive to the advantage of our growing fraternity."

Twenty-four laws were then adopted, and numbered consecutively. They provided for "an orderly session of members" once a month, the "youngest on the roll" acting as "herald," with six as a quorum; for due respect to the president, each member being required to behave "with becoming decency," rising when addressing the chair; and for "a penalty of five shilling" in case of unexcused "non attendance." Only collegians sixteen years and over could be elected by unanimous vote. On initiation each member was to pay a fee of six shillings, and to "procure a medal wholly corresponding with those of the Fraternity." The power to settle disputes and to fine or expel members was asserted. Four members were to perform at each meeting, two in "matters of argumentation" and two in "opposite composition," and worthy compositions were to be "carefully preserved."

The duty of the treasurer to keep accounts "of all reimbursements as well as disbursements," of the clerk to keep a "proper roll" and "fair and legible books in writing," was defined; as was the requirement of a quorum to transact business except when "absolutely necessary for the preservation of the society."

Of special interest to us in the twentieth century are Laws Nine and Ten:

"That the least appearance of intoxication or disorder of any single member by liquor at a session, subjects him to the penalty of ten shillings.

"That for the encouragement of any new invention of Arts and Sciences, some premium be allowed from the public treasury."

Following the adoption of the Laws "a called meeting" was held on March 27 to elect and initiate Isaac Hite, who was "recommended as a worthy member of this fraternity." Three meetings were held in April—the first on the "established time," Saturday, April 5. In no case is the

place of regular meetings recorded. Mr. Booker was then charged with "a thorough infringement of three of the preceding resolves." Being absent, he had failed as treasurer to make a report. At a special meeting two weeks later "he having made his defense, was with honor and unanimity restored to the good opinion of the Society."

Meanwhile, on April 15, "At a call meeting, Mr. William Short, Mr. John Morison and Mr. George Braxton, being recommended as worthy members of this Society, were accordingly initiated." The acquisition of William Short of Surry County proved an important event in the life of the Society.

Only one new member was initiated in 1777, Henry Hill, on November 29. After the meeting on the first Saturday in May there was an intermission of six weeks, until June 16, "the second Saturday after the expiration of the Holidays."

Changes in officers occurred. Mr. Heath being absent for a time, Thomas Smith was chosen president on May 3, leaving a vacancy in the secretaryship which was filled by the appointment of William Short. Smith, however, leaving college in July, resigned in a speech "which was ordered to be carefully kept," and John Heath resumed the presidency. On June 16 Richard Booker resigned as treasurer, delivering "to the Society the money in his hands," and Isaac Hite was appointed to succeed him.

Before the year had ended, revisions and amendments were proposed and a committee was appointed to revise the laws. The minutes of the meeting of November 29 conclude:

"The business of the evening being finished, the Society adjourned to the 5th of next Month, being the anniversary to be kept at the Raleigh." We find no record of that first Phi Beta Kappa anniversary.

Two new laws were adopted in July, 1778: one that amendments must be proposed a month in advance, the other that a number fewer than a quorum might proceed with business, initiation excepted, actions taken being subject to be cancelled by a majority at a subsequent meeting. These were entered as Laws 25 and 26.

Law 27, adopted a month later, provided that three members be "appointed to judge of the Performances, and always to inform the ensuing meeting" if any were deemed worthy of being preserved.

Laws and Ritual Revised

A committee on amendments, appointed in September, 1778, brought in six months later a thorough revision, and proposed also a revised ritual. The minutes read:

"The Forms of Initiation instituted by the Committee were read and resolved upon.

"The laws revised by the committee appointed for that purpose were read and received universal approbation."

This action was important, for these documents were to guide the Society in Virginia, and also the branches instituted in New England.

The new code begins with this preamble or enacting clause:

"Whereas it is essentially necessary to the well-being of every Fraternity, that it should be Governed by certain established and salutary Laws: the following are adopted for the governing rules of the conduct of each member of the Φ B K; and each and every Member of the said Society is hereby required to observe the same with the most scrupulous punctuality, in order that this institution, which does honor to the founders, may be handed down to the latest ages, firm and inviolate."

To execute the laws and perform the duties of the Society a president, clerk, and treasurer were to be chosen.

Twenty laws follow, in which the duties of officers and members are defined. Some additions to the original laws should be noted. Regular meetings were to be held once a fortnight at 7 o'clock P.M. in summer and 6 in winter. The treasurer was to lay his accounts before the first meeting in the months of March, June, September, and December. For the law which mentioned "intoxication and disorder at a meeting" the following was substituted: "The violation of any of the laws enacted or to be enacted, except such as have a fine annexed to them, subjects the violator to the discretionary punishment of the Society."

Conviction for expressing "sentiments inimical to the Society," subjected the member to be censured, fined, or even expelled, if the Fraternity deemed it expedient. Of all the laws, No. 19 exercised the greatest influence on the development of the Society in New England. It read: "At the first meeting in June annually two members shall be chosen to prepare Orations upon any suitable subject given by the Society to be delivered at the celebration of the anniversary."

Two additions were made to this code. The first, adopted November 13, 1779, adds to the list of officers a "standing Vice-president," who "shall have the same power, in the absence of the efficient president, that is given by Law." Though this law was not copied in the code, Archibald Stuart was named vice-president, and is so designated on the charters for the New England branches.

The second addition, adopted on December 2, 1779, three days before the charter for Cambridge was voted, is Law XXII in the early code of the Alpha of Massachusetts.

"Everything proposed at any meeting (initiation and such business as

cannot be cancelled, excepted) shall first be discussed in a committee of the whole in form following:

"The President for the time being after taking his seat and having the order of last meeting, and the appointment of declaimants of the present, read by the Clerk, shall on motion made resign the chair to some Member not immediately interested in the debate, which member while chairman shall have all the authority and privileges of the President vested in him. When all the business is finished, the committee shall rise and the proceedings of the same being read by the Clerk, the Society may then alter, amend or confirm them; after which they shall be assigned by the president or in his absence, by the Vice-president and then be deemed valid."

This code of laws governed the Alpha Society in Virginia, and was commended in the charters for new branches.

The ritual provided that the candidate, presumably blindfolded, be brought to the door by the one who recommended him, and led to a chair by his guide, who, taking a paper from his hand, read an address, in which the invitation to membership was acknowledged and accepted with "most sincere thanks."

Then the president, assuring the candidate of the Society's "good opinion of him," asked him to affirm that he accepted membership "unbiased by persuasion," that he would be a "friend of Morality and Literature," and would regard "every worthy Member—as a Brother," to whom assistance should be given in case of "distress."

The laws were read by the clerk and, if approved, the oath was administered and the medal and sign of the Society were explained. Then the president thus addressed the newly initiated member:

"Brother:

"It is an uncommon pleasure which I feel in being able to address you by this tender appellation; such have been the mutual pleasures ever distributed among the Members of the Φ B K.

"This Society was founded by a few friends to social and improving intercourse. At first it was confined to a small number of very worthy students; they planted the Scion, from which has grown this tree, that now buds forth before your eyes, with the blossoms of harmony and concord. It was ingrafted on the stock of friendship in the soil of virtue, enriched by Literature. To cherish and keep it alive hath been the constant care of those members who have succeeded.

"To which end they have ever kept in view the design of its worthy founders who adopted this friendly communion as a recreation to the philosophic mind, satiate with investigating the various springs of Human nature and human actions.

"Now then you may for a while disengage yourself from scholastic

laws and communicate without reserve whatever reflections you have made upon various objects; remembering that everything transacted within this room is transacted *sub rosa*, and detested is he that discloses it.

"Here too you are to indulge in matters of speculation, that freedom of inquiry that ever dispels the clouds of falsehood by the radiant sunshine of truth,—here you are to look for a sincere friend, and here you are to become the Brother of unalienable Brothers."

The ceremony concluded with an address to the members present:

"Gentlemen:

"You all at this moment experience in yourselves the heartfelt satisfaction which I do at our late valuable acquisition.

"Friendship herself pleased with her success now smiles at this addition to our Fraternity. Let it be our joint care to extend the Friendship which has ever been exercised by this Society, to this new elected member, that he may thereby become a veteran in her service.

"Let us consider that this is no longer the stranger whom we have hitherto seen; he is a Brother, a member of the Φ B K; in which character I am inexpressibly happy to introduce him to you."

The president then gave formal welcome. It was the secretary's duty to introduce the new member, "all taking care to use the mode of shaking hands peculiar to the Φ B K."

What were "the sign of the Society" and "the mode of shaking hands peculiar to the Φ B K"? The subject was under consideration on May 3, 1777, but the minutes were later so thoroughly inked over as to be virtually unreadable. By the aid of a government expert the passage was deciphered thus in 1935:

"For the better distinction of the Fraternity between themselves in any foreign country or place, it is resolved that a salutation of the clasp of the hand together with an immediate stroke across the mouth with the back of the hand, and a return of the hand used by the saluted, be hereby established and ordained."

Since the "clasp of the hand"—in the ritual "the form of shaking hands" —was not portrayed, and the "stroke across the mouth" is not wholly clear, the minute may have been erased because it was found to be inadequate. The uncertainty has never been resolved, for at Yale one mode of shaking hands was adopted, and another seems to have been used at Harvard.

John Heath was present on February 27, 1779, when the revised laws and ritual were adopted, and took part in the exercises, for he and William Short "delivered their compositions," and "Messrs. Hall and Nivison argued" on a subject not recorded. The subject chosen for discus-

sion at their next fortnightly meeting, "The Justice of African Slavery," was the second to be entered upon the minutes.

This was, with one exception, the last regular meeting attended by Heath, who had led the Society until its methods were fully established. On that evening "Messrs. Baker, Moore, and Roane, being recommended to this Society, were balloted for and received in due form." Thus the "Forms and ceremonies" of the Society, as read by John Heath, had immediate test, which confirmed the universal approbation that attended their presentation by the committee. A half century later, William Short wrote of Heath that, "as long as he remained in College he was the sole legislator" of the Society.

Richard Booker, the first treasurer, remained in office a year and a half, and then, after delivering to the Society the money in his hands, was succeeded by Isaac Hite. A year later the initiation fee was "augmented to five dollars." On July 24, 1779, "upon motion made, it was ordered that fines instead of one dollar and five, as they now stand, be raised to ten dollars and twenty." About a year later at one meeting six fines were assessed: one for twenty dollars, and five for fifteen dollars each—increases made necessary by the sharp decline in the value of Continental currency.

The first recorded balance by Mr. Hite was reported in pounds: £18.8. Balances continued to increase until the last, August 12, 1780, when Hite's successor reported that there are "£27.4.8 in the treasury and £24.17.0. in arrears," and it was "ordered that the thanks of the Society be given to Mr. Cabell for the faithful discharge of his office and that Mr. Swan and Mr. Washington wait on him for the purpose as well as to receive the books."

Daniel Brent succeeded William Cabell as treasurer and remained in office until the close of the Society's activities. Nothing is known of the treasurer's book and balance. Throughout its four years the principal items purchased were paper, pens, ink, and a box or trunk in which to preserve the records. Respecting the latter, in August, 1779, it was "Resolved that Mr. Brent and Mr. R. Cocke be appointed to procure a box of such dimensions as may appear most proper to deposit the papers in, belonging to the society."

A rumor persisted, without documentary evidence, that Phi Beta Kappa had a Masonic background. Williamsburg Lodge No. 6 had received its charter from England in 1773, but was not very active when Phi Beta Kappa was organized, as it was changing from loyalist to patriotic leadership. John Heath did not become a Mason. Thomas Smith, one of his associates, had entered the lodge in August, 1775; another

joined in December, 1778, and four others in 1779, after the new Society was well established. William Short, the second president of Phi Beta Kappa, did not become a Mason until January, 1781.

It is admitted that the Masonic practice of granting charters for other lodges may have led Samuel Hardy to propose on May 2, 1779, six months after joining the Masonic Fraternity, a method for extending Phi Beta Kappa by granting charters for similar societies in various places in Virginia: to bear the names of the letters of the Greek alphabet, Beta, Gamma, etc. Three charters were granted during the summer, and two others during the early months of 1780. None of these was organized. But two, voted at the third anniversary, one for an Alpha of Massachusetts Bay at Cambridge, and another for an Alpha of Connecticut at New Haven, gave the Society a new lease on life. These, with medals, copies of the code of laws and the ritual, were carried northward by Elisha Parmele, and the two Alphas were instituted—at Yale in the fall of 1780, and at Cambridge the following year.

The roster of the Society, copied when it was ready to disband, is thus headed: "A List of the members who have been initiated in the S P alias Φ B K Society."

In the oath of fidelity "our growing fraternity" was written. In the minutes of the first two years the name does not appear. Then in the revised ritual, adopted February 27, 1779, "the Φ B K" was written five times. In the copy of the new code of laws, adopted the same day, the name was not noted, but thereafter "the Φ B K" was written eight times within a year, and four times in the copy of the charter as revised in December, 1779. During 1780 "the Φ B K" appears once and "the Society" twice. In the minutes of the final meeting held January 6, 1781, the secretary wrote of a "meeting of Φ B K" called because of the "confusion of the times and the present Dissolution which threatens the University." In his concluding sentences he wrote of it as "the Society" and "the Fraternity." At William and Mary the Greek letters were never written out.

Literary Activities

In the ritual the founders of Phi Beta Kappa named friendship, morality, and literature as essential characteristics. Good fellowship cultivated at meetings and in student relationships was not to end with college days. Laws provided for a reverent opening and conduct of meetings, encouraged sobriety, and demanded ethical ideals superior to those manifested by a rival society. The third principle, literature, interpreted as scholarly activities, was represented by exercises at regular meetings. From 1778 through 1780 the following subjects were debated:

1778	
Sept. 4	The advantages of an established Church.
1779	
March 13	The Justice of African Slavery.
March 27	Whether Agriculture or Merchandise was most advantageous to a State.
April 10	Whether Brutus was justifyable in having his son executed.
April 24	The cause and origin of Society.
May 8	Whether a wise State hath any Interest nearer at heart than the education of the Youth.
June 12	Whether an Agrarian Law is consistent with the principles of a wise republic.
July 10	Whether anything is more dangerous to Civil Liberty in a free State than a standing army in time of peace.
July 24	Whether parents have a right to prevent marriage of children after entering into Contract.
August 7	Whether Commonwealths or Monarchies are most subject to Seditions and Commotions.
Nov. 27	Whether a General Assessment for the support of Religious Establishments is or is not repugnant to the principles of a Republican Government.
Dec. 4	Whether Theatrical Exhibitions are advantageous to States or the contrary.
1780	
March 4	Is a Public or a Private Education more advantageous?
April 22	Had William the Norman a right to invade England?
May 21	Whether the Execution of Charles the First was justifyable.
June 3	Whether any form of Government is more favorable to public virtue than a Commonwealth.
June 17	Whether the rape of the Sabine women was just.
July 1	Whether Religion is necessary to Government.
July 29	Whether in Civil War any person is justifyable in remaining Neuter.
August 13	Whether Duelling ought to have toleration in this or any other free State.
August 27	Whether all our affections and principles are not in some manner deducible from self love.
Sept. 12	Whether Poligamy is a dictate of Nature or not.

Sept. 23	Whether Avarice or Luxury is more beneficial to a Republic.
Oct. 6	Whether Brutus was justifyable in killing Caesar.
Oct. 22	Whether a man in extreme want is justifyable in stealing from his neighbor to relieve his present necessities.

These discussions, to quote a phrase from the ritual, proved "a recreation to the philosophic mind." Several papers, on the recommendation of the judges of composition, were ordered to be preserved.

In addition to the social enjoyment of regular meetings, anniversaries gave occasion for display of friendly interest. The first anniversary has been mentioned. As the second approached, it was voted: "That every member who is absent from the Society be written to in the most pressing terms to attend on the 5th of December in order to celebrate that glorious day which gave Birth to this Happy Union." On December 4, because the "state of the Society was declining through want of members," a committee was appointed to make nominations.

"Messrs. John Brown, Presson Bowdoin, Littleton Eyre and Daniel Carroll Brent, being severally recommended as gentlemen worthy an admission to this Society, were accordingly initiated.

"The Business of the evening being over, the Society adjourned with an agreement to meet on tomorrow evening at the Raleigh to celebrate the Anniversary of this Fraternity.

Thus four newly elected members had the pleasure of joining in the festivities of the second anniversary, of which the secretary wrote:

"December 5th. The Society having met agreeable to appointment after the President had resigned and delivered a valedictory on the Occasion, the Night was spent in jollity and mirth. Mr. J. Heath and Thomas Smith of the former members, attended on this auspicious day, for which they have the grateful acknowledgement of the Society."

Five days later, on December 10, 1778, William Short was chosen president. Four months thereafter an unusual event called the members to the ancient inn for a social gathering.

"Mr. Bowdoin being about to depart for Europe, requested the company of the Society at the Raleigh, where he gave them a very elegant Entertainment. After many toasts suitable to the occasion, the evening was spent by the Members in a manner which indicated the highest esteem for their departing Friend, mixed with sorrow for his intended absence and joy for his future prospects in life."

The Society at William and Mary closed for the year 1779 with a slim attendance on December 11. Of the resumption of activities the secretary

wrote: "The inclemency of the winter season and recess of the students and other members of the Φ B K having interrupted the regular meetings of this Society, a few of the members remaining in Williamsburg convened on Saturday the 4th of March when, a subject for Declamation of the same day se'ennight being agreed on, a meeting was called and held on Saturday the 11th March, being the day of meeting in course (as well for this as other business). Present Mr. President and six other members."

After discussing the question, "Is a Public or Private Education more advantageous . . . the same being fully investigated," it was: "Ordered that a Charter party be granted to Jno Beckley by the unanimous vote of this meeting to be denominated the Hτα and established at Richmond."

Five months later, on May 18, John Marshall, Bushrod Washington, Thomas Lee, and Landon Cabell, being "recommended as worthy a seat in this Society, were balloted for and received." Also George Lee Turnberville requested a charter to establish a branch of the Society in Westmoreland. This was unanimously agreed upon and the new branch was to be denominated the Theta. Richmond, the new capital of the State, and Westmoreland, a county without a large center of population, were thus named as the seats of two branches.

The remaining months of 1780 were marked by the election of several members who later attained prominence. Marshall and Washington have been mentioned. The latter, after completing his course at William and Mary in 1778, studied law in Philadelphia for two years, and then returned to Williamsburg, possibly to study under George Wythe, who became Professor of Law in the faculty as reorganized in 1779. Bushrod Washington may therefore be considered the first alumnus member. John Marshall, after service in the Continental Army, was enrolled at the College and was active in the Society. During June and July Captain William Pierce, Richard Bland Lee, William Madison, John Swan, and Thomas Cocke were received.

On November 30, "Mr. Stevens Thompson Mason being recommended as a gentleman worthy of a seat in this Society, was balloted for and received." After "Mr. Fitzhugh and Mr. Landon Cabell had been appointed to speak for a Supper at the Raleigh on the night of the anniversary," the Society adjourned to the Raleigh on Tuesday, 7:00 o'clock.

The service of Theodorick Fitzhugh, who had attended the second meeting of the Society as one of the nine to be then severally initiated, though he was not present at the two concluding meetings, seems to have been longer than that of any other of the fifty members. William Short was next in length of service. He had been initiated when the Society was only five months old, was thereafter an active and influential member, and presided at the concluding meeting.

The fourth anniversary was held on December 5, 1780, closing the activities of the year. Of the occasion Landon Cabell wrote:

"At a meeting at the Raleigh on the 5th December, to celebrate the Anniversary of this Noble Institution, were present Mr. Brent, Vice President, Mr. Roane, Mr. L. Cabell, Mr. Richard Lee and Mr. Cocke.

"Mr. Brent, Vice President pro tempore, took the chair, the Clerk being absent, Mr. L. Cabell was appointed. The Vice President left the chair and called Mr. Roane to the same. Mr. Richard Lee, according to appointment, then proceeded to declaim on the progress of the arts and sciences. President Short, who was likewise to declaim on this night, being absent and the business of the night being over, Mr. Brent returned to the chair, the remainder of the Evening was spent in sociability and mirth.

"Mr. John Stuart and Mr. Theodorick Fitzhugh were both absent. An adjournment took place."

The Alpha Becomes Inactive

The next meeting was their last. But one of the charters, granted at the previous anniversary, had been made effective, and just three weeks and a day earlier, a meeting of the Alpha had been held at Yale College, at which officers had been elected and twelve graduates and students had been initiated.

Then came Benedict Arnold to Richmond, leading British troops. This raid, early in January, 1781, made clear to all that danger was imminent and regular College exercises could not be continued. Members of the College company registered for duty, and others made such plans as seemed best. William Short called a meeting. The minutes of this memorable meeting were penned on the twenty-fifth and last sheet of the records, filling it completely.

"1781. On Saturday, the 6th of January, a meeting of Φ B K was called for the Purpose of Securing the Papers of the Society during the Confusion of the Times, and the present Dissolution which threatens the University.

"The members who attended were William Short, Daniel C. Brent, Spencer Roane, Peyton Short, and Landon Cabell. They thinking it most advisable that the papers should not be removed, determined to deliver them sealed into the hands of the College Steward, to remain with him until the desirable Event of the Society's Resurrection. And this Deposit they make in the sure and certain Hope that the Fraternity will one day rise to life everlasting and Glory immortal."

The Society's strong box, containing many papers in addition to the minutes, was sealed and placed in safe keeping. Short joined a company

that was defending Williamsburg and remained in the ranks until the immediate danger had passed.

The plight of Williamsburg during the British invasion was distressing. As Short wrote in 1831: "Difficulties did not cease with the successful ending of the Yorktown Campaign. The French Army remained for a time in the neighborhood, and College exercises could not be resumed."

All members of the Society had left the city, except Short, who remained for some months to perfect himself in the French language. It turned out that he was preparing for a diplomatic career. When the College opened in the fall of 1782, members were not there to move for the Society's continuance. But the Society had provided for its perpetuation, at Yale and at Harvard, in which institutions "scions" had been planted. What became of the five charters for branches in Virginia is not known. No evidence is at hand that any of them was made effective, or that any organization was seriously attempted. Increasing Masonic activities may have made it difficult, if not impossible, for a new society to find a place. The Virginia period was at an end. For many years Phi Beta Kappa was to be a New England institution.

CHAPTER II

The Extension to New England

THE ANNIVERSARY at William and Mary in December, 1779, was made memorable by the presence of Elisha Parmele, with an application for a charter in behalf of the "University of Cambridge." In anticipation, on November 27, it had been voted that "Messrs. Beckley and Ballindine be appointed to make a proper provision for the evening of the 4th of December, for the entertainment of this Society."

The meeting was held at "Mr. Davenports in Williamsburg," with thirteen in attendance. After the literary exercises the petition for a charter so held attention that the Clerk omitted reference to the "entertainment." Of this highly important meeting William Short wrote with enthusiasm fifty years later.

In its plan to expand by the granting of charters Phi Beta Kappa differed from other college societies of the early period. At a meeting on May 4, 1779, after the initiation of John Page, and after the topic, "Whether a wise State hath any Interest nearer at Heart than the Education of the Youth?" had been debated, the question was raised:

"It being suggested that it might tend to promote the designs of this Institution and redound to the honor and advantage thereof at the same time, that others more remote or distant will be attached thereto, Resolved, that leave be given to prepare the Form or Ordinance of a Charter party, to be entrusted with such two or more Brothers of the Φ B K, as to a General meeting shall, on due application for the same, be thought to merit such a trust; with delegated power in the plan and principles therein laid down, to constitute, establish and initiate a Fraternity Correspondent to this, and that a Committee be appointed of Mr. President, Mr. Stuart, and Mr. Beckley to prepare a draught of the same and report at next meeting."

The First Charter Voted

Three of the four men who had been discussing the importance of education were made members of the committee: John Heath, Founder, Archibald Stuart, and John James Beckley. At the end of four weeks their report was discussed at a special meeting at which "Mr. Beckley reported

form of Charter party read and referred to a Committee of the Whole, Mr. Brown in the Chair, reported a debate by paragraphs and agreed to." It was then

"Resolved, that the Charter party do pass."

Four days later on his request it was "Ordered that Mr. Hardy have this Charter by unanimous voice of the members now met; the meeting to be called the Βητα."

Proper attestation of this important document was necessary, and Messrs. Short, Brown and Beckley were "appointed to form a seal for this Hon: Society." Their report was not recorded, but a seal of brass, about the size of a silver quarter with the Greek letters Φ B K engraved on its face, was prepared and accepted. It was designed to make an impression on wax. On the reverse was a socket for a wooden handle. The following day, July 11, a special meeting was held, and recorded as follows:

"The Form of Charter party being again referred to the consideration of a committee, several alterations were suggested as necessary in the same by Mr. Short. The amendments were read in their proper places, and were agreed to.

"Mr. William Steward [Stuart] then petitioned the Society that a form of the Charter party should be granted him. The Society, considering his zealous attachment to her interests and the particular attention he having paid her laws, unanimously resolved that the same be granted him and that the meeting be called Gamma.

"Resolved that a copy of the form of Charter party and also of the laws be drawn off and delivered to Mr. W. Stuart. Resolved, also, that Mr. Savage and Mr. Cabell be appointed to do the same.

"Adjourned till to-morrow night."

It was fitting that Samuel Hardy should have the first copy, since he had proposed the charter. However, the rule that copies should be given to two or more members was violated in the first and in all succeeding instances. The documents were ready the following evening, when, at a special meeting the charter party was delivered to Stuart, together with the code of laws drawn up according to direction.

These documents were signed by all the members present. Then through two slits, cut near the lower edge of the sheet, pink and blue ribbons were passed, duly tied in a bow knot, and on the streamers, upon a mass of wax, the seal of the Society was carefully pressed. The charter was then ready for presentation.

Just a month later a third charter was voted. The minute of August 14 reads:

"On the motion of Mr. Cabell, the form of a Charter party is granted

him by duplicate to be signed according to Law. The meeting hereby established to be called the Δελτα."

William Cabell had recently come to William and Mary after two preparatory years at Hampden-Sydney, and had been welcomed into Phi Beta Kappa on June 5. The Delta was voted him when he had been a member only about ten weeks. Was it intended for Hampden-Sydney?

The discussions resulting in the granting of charters began less than two months after the adoption of revised laws and ritual and led to broader conceptions of the character and future of the Society. The minutes give no hint that extension beyond Virginia was intended, though action had already been taken looking to a larger purpose. On December 10, 1778, the following, for which no reason is given, was duly adopted:

"Resolved, that in future, admission to this Society, be not confined to collegians alone."

Elisha Parmele Elected

Six months later a special meeting was held on July 31, 1779, of which the minute states:

"Mr. Elijah Parmale [Elisha Parmele] is recommended as a worthy member of this Society, and on a ballot taken he is unanimously elected and initiated in due form."

From this note no one would infer that Parmele had studied at Yale and had graduated at Harvard. It was a half-century later that William Short revealed in his letter to Edward Everett the reason for the election:

"The origin of the Charter to which you allude as establishing your Society at Cambridge, and to which my name is annexed, proceeded altogether from one of the members (Samuel Hardy) whose name you find subscribed. He was a man of a most comprehensive mind, but as he was what was termed an irregular student, that is, not entitled to wear a cap and gown, he was not held in estimation by the pedantic and often thickheaded cap-and-gown students. I remember yet my surprise when he communicated to me his plan for extending branches of our Society to the different States. It was the first symptom of anything coming from him, indicative of his mind. He expatiated on the great advantages that would attend it in binding together the several States.

"I happened at that time to be acquainted with a gentleman from the Eastward who was a private tutor in the family of one of my friends, and as I knew he then contemplated returning to his native state, I suggested to Mr. Hardy the propriety of bringing forward his plan

before the society, so that the charter might be ready to be sent by this gentleman. It was accordingly done, and if my memory serves me, a charter of the same kind was sent at the same time to New Haven."

When Parmele understood this broad purpose, he was not unwilling to share in the great adventure, and presented his petition at a most opportune time, when the Society was celebrating its third anniversary.

Elisha Parmele, who was teaching school in Surry County, crossed the James River to attend the anniversary dinner and to make his request. We may suppose that he was asked to tell what he knew of Yale and Harvard, to explain conditions there. This occupied so much time that another meeting was necessary, and was called for Sunday evening. At this session William Short suggested "the necessity of making some innovations in the form of Charter party to introduce it properly and give it an extensive footing, in the State of Massachusetts Bay."

There followed a discussion on secrecy, which Parmele, after his experience in the Linonia Society at Yale, did not approve.

The minute is quoted in part:

"Resolved, that so much of Mr. Parmelie's petition as relates to the establishment of a Phi: Society to be conducted in a less mysterious manner than the ΦBK be not agreed to as the design appears to be incompatible with the principles of this meeting.

"Ordered, however, that Mr. Parmelie be thanked for the proof which he has given of his zeal by openly communicating his sentiments to this Society.

"Mr. President and Mr. Cocke appointed to do the same."

This discussion led to an expression of more comprehensive views. At a meeting on the following Thursday evening, President Short offered the following resolution:

"Whereas this Society is desirous that the ΦBK should be extended to each of the United States.

"Resolved, that a second Charter be granted to our Brother, Mr. Elisha Parmele, for establishing a meeting of the same in the College of New Haven in Connecticut, to be of the same Rank, to have the same Power, and to enjoy the same Privileges with that which he is empowered to fix in the University of Cambridge. To be called the Ζητα."

Charters for Harvard and Yale

Aware of Parmele's intentions, Short realized the necessity for prompt action. He had two copies of the charter transcribed, and undertook to have them signed by all the officers, students, and other members in Williamsburg—nineteen in all. He had the Society's code of laws and

its form of initiation made in duplicate, and placed all of these documents and two of the Society's medals in the hands of Elisha Parmele. The Charter party bore the following form:

"The members of the Φ B K of the meeting Αλφα of William and Mary College, Virginia, to their well and truly beloved Brother Elisha Parmeli.

"Greeting:

"Whereas it is repugnant to the liberal principles of Societies that they should be confined to any particular place, men or Description of Men, and as the same should be extended to the wise and virtuous of every degree and of whatever Country:—

"We the Members and Brothers of the Φ B K, an Institution founded on literary principles, being willing and desirous to propagate the same, have at the instance and petition of our good brother Elisha Parmeli of the University of Cambridge in the State of Massachusetts Bay, and from the confidence we reposed in the Integrity, Discretion and good Conduct of our said Brother, unanimously agree and resolve to give and delegate, and we do therefore, by these our present letter of Charter-Party, give and delegate by unanimous consent to you the said Elisha Parmeli the following Rights, Privileges, Authority and Power, that is to say,

"1st. That at the University of Cambridge you establish a Fraternity of the Φ B K to consist of not less than three persons of Honor, Probity, and good Demeanor, which shall be denominated the Αλφα of Massachusetts Bay. And as soon as such number of three shall be chosen, you shall proceed to hold a Meeting, to be called the Foundation Meeting, and appoint your officers agreeable to Law. . . .

.

"12thly. That we do hereby Ratify and Confirm this Charter, and all the Rights, Privileges, Authority and Power incident to the same, to you the said Elisha Parmeli, the Members of the Alpha of Massachusetts and their Successors forever, confidently relying on the prudence and discretion of you, our Brother, to secure the same with our reputations and fortunes. Witness our hands and the Seal of the Society this the fourth day of December, 1779."

The intervening articles impose the "Oath of Secrecy," give "friendship and union" and the "Governing Rule" of conduct; ask the acceptance of the code of laws; and invite a correspondence through the president, the "Table herewith transmitted," to be used, requiring that each year lists of officers and new members be forwarded to the several societies, and providing "That the Arcana of this Society be held inviolate."

The right to grant charters for junior branches within the State of Massachusetts Bay is affirmed. Nineteen signatures were affixed.

As the future of the Society depended so much upon Elisha Parmele, the events which led him to Virginia become important. He was a native of Goshen, Connecticut, a small village nearly forty miles north of New Haven. His father, Abraham Parmele, as a young man had gone north from his home in Guilford, selected a tract in the newly opened township of Goshen, and near to a fine spring had built a log house to which he brought his bride, Mary Stanley.

Elisha Parmele was born February 22, 1755, the fourth of seven children. With the ministry in view, he prepared for college with a neighboring minister, entered Yale in 1774, in his twentieth year, and made an excellent record. As a member, he took part in the literary exercises of the Linonia Society.

The excitement of the events culminating in the Declaration of Independence, and subsequent military operations, led the college to the decision not to open in the fall of 1776, but to advise students to continue their studies at the homes of professors. Parmele went, instead, to Harvard, and applied for admission to the junior class, as did also his classmate, Ezra Stiles Jr., a son of Rev. Ezra Stiles, of Newport, Rhode Island. In February, 1777, he was admitted as a *Junior Sophister ad Eundem* and in the following August he and Stiles were among thirty young men who received A.B. degrees. Stiles returned to New Haven in time to be awarded an honorary A.B. by Yale, at the first commencement of his father's presidency.

Of Parmele's subsequent career we have been able to piece together some information from a tribute by his brother in *The Theological Magazine* of New York (1797) and from the more recent article by Edward Everett Hale in *The Atlantic Monthly,* July, 1879. In his article Dr. Hale stated that, "being of a slender constitution and in ill health, he went to the southern states, and spent the year 1779 in instructing an academy in Surry in Virginia." This may not have been an established school, but rather one temporarily provided by a planter for his family and the children of his neighbors. At any rate, William Short wrote that Parmele was a "tutor in a private family" of his acquaintance. While thus engaged, Parmele accepted membership in the new Society at William and Mary, which relationship led to the bearing of the charters to New England.

Those who became responsible for the Society's development in New England had slight knowledge of its activities in Virginia because of its abrupt ending there, and the hiding away of its records. The date, 1776, on its medal gave the Society distinction as a product of the period of

the War for American Independence. Its Greek-letter name added something to its prestige. But its growth depended on members in the New England Alphas who endeavored to follow as well as they could the provisions of the code of laws and the ritual and those in the charters under which they were organized.

Progress was slow. During seventy years only six Alphas had been instituted—all but one, the Alpha of New York, in New England colleges. With 1845 came a period of more rapid expansion. During that year a Beta and a Gamma were installed in Connecticut. Soon an Alpha of Ohio was organized in Western Reserve College in Hudson and a movement to revive the original society at William and Mary succeeded in 1851, not long after the early records had been presented to the Virginia Historical Society at Richmond. Some information respecting them had been sent to the northern branches—chapters, as they then began to be called—but as the records were not published until 1896, little respecting the Society's beginnings was known.

The number of chapters continued to increase until there were twenty fairly active ones. Then, as the centennial of the Society in New England approached, a convention was called, to meet at Cambridge in June, 1881, when the Alpha of Massachusetts was holding centennial exercises. Action taken at this convention resulted in the organization, in September, 1883, of the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa, with a constitution providing for officers, an Executive Committee known as a Senate, and a National Council to meet every third year. During the succeeding six decades Phi Beta Kappa developed to its present strength, with chapters in 141 leading colleges and institutions, and over 100 associations in forty-four states and six foreign countries.

Not until the organization of the United Chapters was much attention paid to the history of the early days. No one gave careful study to the records available in the annals of the early chapters, and with what they reveal of the Society's development during its first century, when it held no conventions and had no general means of communication. Thus this history has been long delayed.

CHAPTER III

The Early New England Period

THE NEW ENGLAND PERIOD, which continued for more than a third of a century, may be divided into two parts, the first from 1780 to 1787, during which the Alpha of Connecticut and the Alpha of Massachusetts became so well established that they could approve a request for a charter for Dartmouth College—the Alpha of New Hampshire; and the second, which continued until 1817. For thirty years these three Alphas granted no charters.

Their conservative attitude was reversed, however, with the organizing of the Alpha of New York in July. 1817 at Union College, followed by the Alpha of Maine at Bowdoin in 1825, and the Alpha of Rhode Island at Brown in 1830. Thereafter for fifteen years conservatism again prevailed; until 1845 there were only six Alphas, all but one in New England.

Meanwhile, the Society had changed in many respects. Literary activities by undergraduates declined, and by 1845 had ceased. Through insistence on the selection of "very excellent students" its reputation for scholarship had grown, and it became in fact an honor society though the term was not in general use.

The fame of the Society was augmented by the anniversary celebrations, which were receiving greater public attention. Emphasis on secrecy diminished after the revelation in 1831 of its Greek motto, though the several branches (not called chapters until after 1845) insisted that the right of privacy should not be violated. The leading scholars of the time welcomed invitations to be Phi Beta Kappa orators; the anniversaries of the Society soon outrivaled similar programs sponsored by other college societies.

The original Society kept its books and papers in a chest or trunk, a practice followed by the branches in New England. The Alphas of Connecticut, New Hampshire and Rhode Island still have these chests. The Alpha of Massachusetts sold its chest in 1794 for seven shillings and bought in its stead a large bookcase. For this it paid six pounds. The charters provided for inter-society correspondence and for annual interchange of lists of officers and new members; this resulted in large accumulations of records. Not all these are extant, but a surprisingly large number are now available, either in original or in copy. These supplement the minutes of the clerks' and the treasurers' records.

Beginning with 1806, manuscript lists of members were supplemented by printed catalogues, so that complete information is available respecting the Society's membership. Besides the addresses and orations which were printed, some copies have been preserved in manuscript. References to public meetings appeared in current periodicals, and further information is to be found in diaries and other memoranda. From a comparison of these sources much is now known that has not hitherto been published.

The Alpha of Connecticut Instituted

During the winter of 1780 Elisha Parmele went from Virginia to the home of his parents in Goshen, Connecticut. It may be presumed that he wrote of his commission to his brother Reuben, then a junior at Yale, and to his college mate, Ezra Stiles, Jr. Stiles had been studying law and had gone to Vermont, where he later made his home. The spring vacation offered to Parmele an opportunity to invite to Goshen these two, with two others, Samuel Newell of Farmingdale, a classmate of Reuben's, and Lynde Lord, a sophomore. Of that meeting no record has been found. That it took place in April is shown by a memorandum made seven years later at Yale, stating that Parmele then "initiated Ezra Stiles Jr., Sam Newell, Reuben Parmele and Lynde Lord."

A letter from William Short intimates that these young men were told something of the history of the Society. Parmele read to them his commission as set forth in the charter, and the laws of the Society, as he did later at Cambridge. When the solemn words of admonition in the ritual had been spoken, and the medal and sign of the Society had been explained, the first "scion" of "the Grand Stock" of Virginia had been planted in New England. Parmele had executed one-half of his dual commission. The precious documents were placed in the keeping of one of the new members (possibly Ezra Stiles), that the foundation meeting of the Alpha of Connecticut might later be held in New Haven and "officers elected according to law." We have no record that Parmele ever went again to New Haven, but he may have been informed by his brother Reuben of the progress of the Society.

The selection of Ezra Stiles, Jr., a graduate of Harvard, was not regular, but was not subject to criticism because he had an honorary A.B. from Yale. As son of the president of the college, he gave the Society a semi-official standing. However, compilers of catalogues have found difficulty in placing his name. Before 1838 he was entered as having been received in April, 1780. When the Alpha began to list members by their college classes, his name was omitted, but he was later entered first in a distinguished list of honorary members. In the General Cata-

logue of 1922 his name appears as the first of four Foundation Members of the Alpha of Connecticut. At the Foundation Meeting in New Haven he was chosen president, but soon resigned because of duties elsewhere.

Possibly in order that Stiles might attend, the Foundation Meeting was delayed until November 13. For it the members had selected candidates for membership and outlined a method of procedure. To quote from the memorandum already mentioned, the four men "commenced the exercises of the Society at New Haven . . . and admitted a number of bachelors, seniors and juniors."

Here definite information ceases. About six years later the register and the book of minutes were stolen, not once only, but twice. After the second theft, the minutes were not recovered, but the register was found and remained in the archives for a half-century. Again it disappeared and was in hiding until the spring of 1935, when it was returned anonymously to the Library of Yale University. Upon examination it was found to contain a copy of the letter written at Williamsburg by William Short on January 23, 1781, less than three weeks after the Society there had disbanded.

The register shows that the original list of initiates included seven graduates, nine seniors and three juniors. Of the graduates, two were of the class of 1778, two of 1779 and three of 1780. Five were students of law, and two were preparing for the Christian ministry. The four members initiated by Parmele at Goshen raised the membership to twenty-three. Ezra Stiles, Jr., the first president, being about to begin law practice in Vermont, was soon succeeded by Abraham Bishop of the class of 1778.

In July, 1781, two seniors and nine juniors were elected and initiated. Before the commencement, which was held that year in September, the new Fraternity had found a place among the activities of Yale College with a membership of thirty-two. After the graduation, responsibility for the conduct of the Alpha, devolved upon the nine members of the senior class, who, however, were assured of support and assistance, in case of need, from the graduate members.

Early Correspondence

Shortly after the Alpha's organization, the members wrote letters to the members who had signed the charter, and sent them by messenger to Williamsburg, directed to William Short. This packet elicited a letter written on January 23, 1781, to Abraham Bishop as president, which was copied in the register by James Kent. As the first in a series of communications it is of considerable interest.

Short addressed Bishop as a "zealous devotee of that Society which has made us known to each other," and then declared, "I would never have trusted this our favorite offspring from us had I not been well aware that it was going into a land of Science and Liberty; had I not supposed that it would be nurtured by a Parmele and a Bishop."

He explained that on the receipt of the packet "we were under arms to oppose the landing of troops under Arnold," and that "although most of those to whom letters were directed have been driven far off by the late and present distraction of the Country, yet unless fate forbids they shall one day get them."

Of his interest in the epistle directed to him he wrote, "I perused your papers with a religious regard in the Confusion and sooner would Caesar have dropped his Commentaries or Columbus his Journal while swimming with them in their Mouths, than I have parted with the sacred papers from the Φ B K from New Haven."

A significant statement throws light on the development of the Society's purposes at William and Mary: "I am sure, my worthy brother, your own reflections and Mr. Parmele's information have made you sufficiently acquainted with the origin of the Φ B K here. Branching it out into its present form never occurred to its founders; this could not be expected, since no human institution ever attained its highest Degree of Perfection at once; for the great improvement we are indebted to some modern members. No sooner did I hear it proposed, than the advantages of the plan crowded into my view, and made me exert every nerve to carry it into execution. I saw that a little attention to the proposition would lead into an ample field of speculation, in which perhaps the Foundation of Continental Harmony and Union may be laid. A committee was immediately appointed to bring into Maturity this inestimable Embryo. At first the most extensive idea was of spreading it through the different parts of this State; but here we despise provincial distinctions —Virginia, Pennsylvania, Connecticut are terms admitted only for particular purposes—they are merged in the comprehensive Idea, America. We know no reason for extending this Institution here only; all operated equally for extending it to the other States. Those who carried their views beyond the present period and developed the hidden events of futurity, saw the immense fabric rising upon this Foundation. Fortune soon throwed in our way your worthy Founder; and I think I may without vanity boast the Promotion of this Plan as I had the honor of introducing him to our Αλφα."

Short wrote of his expectation that, with the extension of the Society, its members would find opportunities to enter the political service as in

Virginia, where, "notwithstanding the Infancy of the Society several Members are already Representatives" in the House of Delegates.

When the Society's numbers should have increased, "Let the Φ B K of the different States send Delegates of the Φ B K to Congress, and we need not be indebted to the British Army of Mercenaries for uniting the different States."

The letter concludes with an appeal to the members at Yale:

"I hope that they will take this letter as a commencement of Correspondence with them all. I intend this for the perusal of each, and shall think myself very happy in an epistolary introduction to them. Soon as they become members of the Φ B K whether their names have reached me or not, they may mark me for their friend who wishes to be treated by each as a brother.

"I wish very much to know what Parmele our friend has done still further to the Northward. May the Guardian Angels of the Φ B K grant him the same success at Cambridge which they have already given him at New Haven.

"Do, my valuable Brother, write often. A letter from your Quarter of the Globe will always afford me ineffable delight. Fail not to make my most friendly compliments to every Member of the Φ B K."

From this it is known that James Kent was the first secretary of the Alpha at Yale. Though no minutes are available, it is evident that Short's letter gave encouragement during the trying months which followed. Not until the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown could the patriots breathe freely. It is not known when Short heard again from Yale, nor when he learned that Parmele had fulfilled his commission at Cambridge. Eight months passed before members of the Alpha at Harvard sent formal notice of their beginnings to Williamsburg and New Haven.

Nearly a year later Short wrote again to Abraham Bishop. His letter, dated Williamsburg, January 15, 1782, contains paragraphs of interest to us:

"We are just arising, my dear Sir, from that abyss of misery and distraction into which a victorious hostile Army had plunged us during the last year. Seventeen hundred and eighty-two commences with the brightest prospects. Tranquility and order begin again to smile, and the paroxisms of joy which followed the Reduction of York now subsiding, men have leisure to look around them and enjoy the agreeable scene. The first object which presents itself to my view in this Survey is that happy Correspondence between us which has been so near being stifled in infancy, that the recollection of it involuntarily makes me repeat this most beautiful passage in Virgil:

Continuo auditæ Vocas vagitus et ingens,
Infantumque Animæ flentes in Limino primo,
Quos dulcis Vitæ exsortias et ab Ubere raptos,
Abstulit atra Dies, et Funere mersit acerbo.[1]

Short stated that though the University had not reopened, he was spending the winter in Williamsburg "with a view to attain the Art of speaking French." He requested the honor of other letters, mentioning "Col. Wadsworth, a gentleman of Connecticut, who is agent here for the French Army," as a convenient messenger. He expressed his deep interest in the branch at New Haven and his desire to hear from the one at Cambridge. He wrote further:

"What has become of our very worthy brother Mr. E. Parmele? He has been silent as the grave since his return to the northward. Wherever he is, give him our sincere regard for him. He has endeared himself to us here not only by his personal merit, but by his diligence in spreading the Φ B K. Like the good luminary he carries light with him wherever he goes, inspires all around him and exhilarates the spirits of whomsoever he pleases to favor.

"When you write to me, my dear Sir, which I must hope will be without delay, I should be glad to be informed of the situation of your College—as to the number of its professors and the Branches of Science allotted to each—the number of students—their respective geniuses, or [at] least the most remarkable among them. The present revolution in America is not inferior to the events which produced a Homer, a Virgil and a Milton. What State will have the honor of giving the World a Poet who shall do Justice to the Establishment of American Independence? In Virginia, there never was any Thing better than . . .[2] never will be a Poet.

"Be pleased to introduce me to an acquaintance with all the worthy [members of the] Φ B K in New Haven, and let me assure you how high a place you hold [in the esteem] of him who now bids you Adieu."

A copy of one other letter, written at Richmond on July 1, 1782, by John Beckley, remains in the Yale archives. It was directed to Elizur Goodrich, Bishop's successor as president; Beckley, then clerk of the House of Deputies, became later clerk of the Continental Congress and of the Federal Congress under the Constitution.

[1] Æneid VI, 426–9. The text differs slightly from that usually given. As translated by Dr. Harland H. Ballard, in his "Æneid of Virgil," they read:

Presently cries are heard, and the sound of great lamentation,
And at the outer gate the wailing spirits of children,
Babes unsharing in life's delight, and torn from the bosom,
Whom a dark day removed, and plunged into Death's bitter waters.

[2] A portion of the paper has disappeared.

"Sir, Permit me as a Brother of the Φ B K, and a Member of the Meeting, to address through you the worthy Brothers of the Society at Yale College in New Haven, and to express as well the happiness I have experienced in taking by the hand one of your worthy Brothers in the person of Mr. Bishop, as the pleasure I feel in seeing so flourishing a Scyon of the Grand Stock extending its influence and ripening to Maturity under your auspices and guidance."

Beckley then commended "the wise and liberal principles of our Society," wrote of his good wishes for the prosperity of the branch at Yale "in particular, and the Grand Stock in General," and hoped with the "return of peace . . . to see the extended influence of the Φ B K in its numerous branches, at no distant period, produce a union through the various climes and countries of this great continent. . . .

"In the sentiments which I have now the honor to address you, our worthy president, Mr. Short cannot through absence join me, but in these as in all other good wishes a Worthy Brother residing in the place (the Hon. Samuel Hardy, a member of the Council of State) desires to be presented to you."

Because the book of minutes of the Alpha of Connecticut was lost, a member who had access to the letters which have been quoted in part, and to others from Harvard, prepared in 1787 the extended memorandum that has been mentioned. The early paragraphs contain the story of the Society's beginnings, and of Parmele's agency in making effective the charters entrusted to him. The correspondence between the two New England branches gave encouragement, but from Virginia came word that ". . . the College of William and Mary was entirely dispersed and broken up, and the succession of the members of the Φ B K consequently intercepted: so that the Alpha of Virginia was entirely extinguished. . . . This Branch continued to increase and become more and more respectable in the view of all the students of the College. The younger classes were sensibly ambitious of recommending the members to the Society by regular behaviour and uncommon exertions in scholarship. At the same time the candidates in the successive senior classes who finally failed of the honor of an election, were mortified and irritated by disappointment."

Then "under the united influence of envy, resentment, and curiosity," in December, 1786, three students broke open . . . "the Secretary's door, in his absence, entered his study and feloniously took, stole, and carried away the Society's trunk with all its contents." They, however, by no means satisfied their expectations of learning the mysteries of the institution, as there was no written explanation of them in the archives.

The culprits, however, were discovered and compelled to restore everything, including the trunk. They paid for the damage done, con-

fessed in an open meeting, and "bound themselves, by a solemn oath, to confine within their own breasts all the knowledge of the secrets of the Society which they had criminally obtained."

This oath, signed by the three men, was copied in the memorandum, as was also the oath taken by the members not to reveal the names of the culprits.[1]

Thus "tranquility was restored"; but it was not to continue, for about six months later, on June 20, 1787, a more skillful theft was perpetrated. An account of this was inscribed in a small book by Jonathan Leavitt:

"About March or April, the Society resolved to make some literary preparations and invite all the members of the Fraternity to attend near commencement. The reasons for which were to cultivate and cherish friendship and Literature; to enquire after the Brothers' welfare that they might know how to fulfill their mutual engagements, etc. At this time the Society established some exercises in consequence of the foregoing Resolve; viz. two Orators and a Disputation. Bros. Samuel Austin and Simeon Baldwin, Esq., were appointed Orators; Messrs. Tutor Holmes and Tutor Denison were elected disputants. The time of convocation was fixed on the evening preceding commencement.

"Take warning! Be all sentinel! Remember that locks are very slender security when the malicious and envious know where our writings are kept. In the afternoon a Brother who had been absent came to the Secretary, desiring to peruse some letters from the Massachusetts Alpha. The Secretary, ready to gratify him, opened the Arcana. To his surprise the Book of Records and the Register were gone. Silent, he sat and the cold sweat flowed abundantly. Nothing is secure in this fluctuating State. Upon recollection and examination the perpetrators of the nefarious deed must have found means to turn three locks, for none of them was broken.

"Information was circulated among the brethren without any stir and observation went forth to reconnoitre. The rays of suspicion soon concentrated to a focus and some evidence appeared. The Authority of the College took up the matter with some spirit; but judged the evidence not conclusive. Afterwards the grand Jurors examined the suspected; who being duly sworn acquitted themselves and each other. But their visible marks of anxiety before and during examination invited the suspicion upon them. Thus the matter stands. But there is nothing hid that shall not be known."

During the next week thirteen juniors were chosen candidates for membership. The minute of July 10 describes graphically their reception.

[1] For a more complete text, including the oaths, see *The Phi Beta Kappa Key*, VII, 716–21.

"July 10th, 1787. The Φ B K Society convened in beauteous order and inducted the above-named Gentlemen into the Brotherhood. The whole Scene was conducted with the utmost regularity agreeable to the prescribed form of initiation. Language would fail, should we attempt to describe the nameless emotions of the Fraternity. Friendship glowing in each breast caught an additional ray and appeared in her most lovely and elevating robes; mutual engagements were ratified and sealed with the awful solemnities of the Oath; and sincere congratulations flowed from the tongue while the hand more emphatically gave the fraternal welcoming embrace. Joy and Gladness reciprocally sparkled anew, and the Connecticut Alpha triumphed in her acquisition.

"The branches of the palm tree rise, instead of being depressed, in proportion to the weight placed upon them. The president remarked, after the introduction of members, that the repeated attacks which have been made by the envious and malicious, upon the secrets of the Φ B K, will eventually give dignity and add importance to the Society. The more she is tried, like gold, so much the more fair and glorious will she appear in the view of mankind. May Unanimity, Virtue and Literature grow to perfection under her nursing care."

It was arranged to hold the public meeting at 2:00 o'clock on the Thursday after commencement, and the president was directed to publish in the public papers the substance of the arrangements.

A Constitution Adopted at Yale

During the succeeding four weeks the Society was busy repairing its losses. A committee, studying the ritual and the laws, decided to propose a thorough revision, arranging their provisions in the form of a constitution. The Greek letters in the heading were for the first time written as abbreviations, and the introductory paragraph of the code received from Virginia was also for the first time termed a Preamble. An outline of this document is here given because it was presented with the charter and ritual to Aaron Kinsman, and accepted in substance at Dartmouth, and later at Union, thus becoming the Society's constitution, so far as there was one. It is entitled: "The Laws of the Φ B K Society."

Following the preamble, thirty articles are grouped under these six headings: Officers, Exercises, Meetings, Admission of Members, Business and Exhibitions.

The first six articles list the officers and define their duties. One officer not in the original code, the register, was to keep the Book of Registry and enroll in it the names of the members with their places of residence. He was also to transcribe in it whatever compositions might

be ordered to be recorded. An additional duty of the treasurer was to procure accommodations for the Society.

The duties of the Judge of Compositions were not materially changed, though he might censure as well as commend an essay. Those approved were to be lodged in the archives for the perusal and benefit of succeeding members, the report of the Judge and the vote of the Society being entered by the register in his book.

Provisions governing the admission of members were specific. Two sections were:

"The time of admitting new members from the junior class, shall be after Spring vacation and before examination in July, as early in that term as may be convenient; Provided that if the complement be not then admitted, the Society afterwards proceed to the admission of others.

"Not more than one-third of a class shall be admitted, provided that if any class contain forty-five, twenty may be admitted. None shall be admitted without the unanimous concurrence of all the members present. However, if only one should object against a candidate, he shall be required to assign his reasons for objecting."

The manner of electing members was definite. Each member present was to "write a catalogue of those whom he would choose," and only those who, when the Secretary and Register had compared the catalogues, "were found to have the suffrages of all," were to be declared elected. A ballot was required even if only one name was presented.

Under Business, only three members were necessary to a quorum, and a majority ruled, except in the election of members, where full unanimity was required.

The president was made responsible for the official letter to be written annually to the other Alphas. This letter was to contain an attested list of the members admitted during the preceding year, together with the names of the officers, and any other information deemed necessary and proper. Copies of all official letters were to be lodged in the trunk. Respecting exhibitions, the articles provided that exercises were to be appointed and performers chosen for the day before commencement, at a general meeting "which all members who may be in Town shall be requested to attend."

The anniversary meeting was to be held on the third Monday in August, when the treasurer would exhibit a statement of accounts, the secretary read the laws, and officers would be elected. Afterwards the oration would be read and the exercises of the day be concluded with refreshments, if the Society thought it proper.

Changes in the ritual were few. The reception of several candidates was contemplated and on their "application" their conductor was to

deliver to the president a paper containing this address, which the secretary read:

"To the Φ. B. K. Society

"Gentlemen, From a conviction of the benefits of Society in general and this in Particular, we the subscribers, being informed of your approbation of us, request to be admitted to your Fraternity, and for the honor of an admission we will render you our most cordial thanks."

The preliminary inquiries were only slightly changed. The candidates were seated while the secretary read the laws. If no objections were raised, the president administered the oath of initiation:

"You solemnly call the Supreme Being to witness that you will be true and faithful to this Society, that you will obey the Laws and preserve all the secrets of the same; So help you God!"

This oath was more strict than the original, by which candidates promised to "endeavor to be true, just, and deeply attached to this our growing Fraternity."

After administering the oath, the president explained the medal and signs, and then addressed the "tyros" in the elegant style of the day:

"Here then you may turn aside from the path of your dayly studies and rest awhile under the cooling shade of social retirement. Here you may disengage yourselves from scholastic cares, and communicate, without reserve, whatever observations you have made on a variety of objects, remembering that everything transacted within these friendly walls is transacted sub rosa; and detested be the wretch who presumes to violate it! Here too you may indulge in speculation that freedom of inquiry which always dispels the clouds of falsehood and ignorance by the radiant sunshine of truth. Here you may look for sincere friend; and here you are to become the Brothers of unalienable Brothers."

The address to the members present, first given in 1779, has continued in succeeding rituals, with only slight changes recommended to the chapters in 1928.

Of these documents, then ready for approval, Leavitt wrote: "In consequence of this loss, and upon the report of a committee, the Society in a full meeting, August 13th 1787, after mature discussion, recognized and enacted a system of Laws, which, together with the Table and Form of Initiation, is as follows:

[The constitution and ritual were not copied, nor were Leavitt's introductory pages entered in the new book of minutes, as contemplated.]

"The former Book of Records being lost, as above related, another was procured in its room; and the foregoing sketch of history is inserted

here that succeeding members may know the situation of the Society at the period from which the new record commences. They are also to be informed that Ezra Stiles, Jun., Esq., Abraham Bishop, Esq., Elizur Goodrich, Esq., Rev. Henry Channing, Rev. Walter King, Rev. Jedidiah Morse, and Barna Bidwell successively presided in the Society."

The Alpha of Massachusetts Instituted

Elisha Parmele delayed going to Harvard until he had completed his preparation for his Master's Degree in Arts. In the summer of 1781 he was accepted as one of twenty-two candidates and was assigned to group number five, the members of which were to prepare for:

A syllogistic Disputation on the following question:
An Virtus sola in Benevolentia Consistet?

Opponents:

Asa Piper, Eliseus Parmele, Cornelius Lynde, Martinus Kingsley, Josephus Jones, Henricus Goodman.

As was the custom, the candidates had printed a series of subjects which they were prepared to discuss.

QUESTIONS

Sub Reverendo

EDUARDO-WIGGLESWORTH,

UNIVERSITATIS HARVARDIANAE SOCIO

et

Sacræ Theologiæ Professore Hollisiano,

Locum Praesidis pro hac vice tenenti;

In Comitiis publicis, Laureæ Magistralis Candidatis
Pro Modulo discutiendæ,

Decimo octavo Sextilis, Anno MDCCLXXXI.

The candidates were listed alphabetically with the names Latinized where possible. This item is of interest:

XIV. An punitionis effectus de ejus certitudine potius quam magnitudine pendeat? Affirmat Respondens Eliseus Parmele.

There had been no public commencement for seven years, so the occasion was of unusual interest. According to a written program, the exercises for candidates for the Master's degree were reserved for the afternoon. Since Harvard was then without a president, Edward Wigglesworth, the senior professor, presided. At the exercises of the morning, bachelor's degrees were awarded to twenty-six young men, of whom six later became members of the new Society—five at Harvard, and one, John Saunders, honorary member at Dartmouth in 1791. Thus three years after his graduation, on the afternoon of Wednesday, July 18, 1781, Elisha Parmele received his second degree in arts.

During Parmele's visit to Cambridge he organized the Alpha of Massachusetts. He chose from the class of 1782 four students of "Honor, Probity, and good Demeanor," and on July 17, the day before the commencement, received them into membership and presented the documents he had brought from Williamsburg.

The official record of the meeting reads:

> "Upon Mr. Elisha Parmele's communicating to Messrs. Baker, Bartlett, Hastings and Kendall, a plan of correspondence with a Society at New Haven in Connecticut, and Williamsburg, Virginia, by the name of 'Φ B K'; instituted for the purpose of making Literary improvement; and by the desire of Messrs. Baker, Bartlett, Hastings and Kendall, having read the several Laws appertaining to the same Society, and administering the necessary Oath, he then presented a Charter granted to him from the Alpha Society in Virginia for establishing a similar Society at Harvard College, (N E) Commonwealth of Massachusetts; by virtue whereof Messrs. Baker, Bartlett, Hastings and Kendall were incorporated into a Society forming the Φ B K Αλφα of Massachusetts; accordingly the following officers were chosen by ballot, viz.
>
> *Messieurs* { KENDALL, President
> HASTINGS, Secretary
> BARTLETT, Treasurer."

Last Years of Elisha Parmele

It is not known that Parmele attended another meeting of the Society which he brought to New England. He continued his studies with Rev. Stephen West of Stockbridge, and was licensed by the Association of Litchfield in 1781. The following autumn he responded to an appeal from western Virginia for ministerial assistance. It is very possible that he visited Archibald Stuart at Staunton and renewed the acquaintance made three years before at Williamsburg. Reference to this second visit to Vir-

ginia is found in a volume entitled, "Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical," published in 1850 by Rev. William Henry Foote, a member of the Alpha at Yale. He wrote:

"In the year 1782, December 13th, the records say— 'as Messrs. Judson and Pamely [Parmele] came recommended from the Association of Litchfield to this Presbytery; the Presbytery recommended them to supply in our vacant congregations at their own discretion till our next; and they also recommended them to the notice and regard of the vacancies under their care.' These young men made but a short visit in Virginia; not finding the field sufficiently inviting they turned their attention to other parts of the wide-spread vineyard. There is no record of any other effect produced by the correspondence with the Association; but as the cords of brotherly affection were strengthened, the efforts were not lost."

On this journey Parmele's companion was Adoniram Judson, Yale 1775, who had received an A.M. *ad eundem* at Harvard in 1782.

After his return, Parmele completed his studies and, being examined by a council of ministers who affirmed his orthodoxy, was ordained and installed as minister of the church at Lee, Massachusetts, on July 3, 1783. Seven months earlier he had married Mary Hutchinson of Salisbury, Connecticut.

Parmele's ministry at Lee was not to be extended. "After seven months . . . he took a severe cold while conducting a service preparatory to the sacrament which he administered on the first Sabbath in February, 1784. This proved to be his last sermon. His symptoms soon became alarming, and he was persuaded by his friends to give up all attention to his ministerial labors, and to retire among his friends for the recovery of his health."

He was later persuaded to go again to the South in the hope of obtaining relief but was so weak that the journey could not be undertaken until late in May. With his wife and Mr. and Mrs. Reuben Parmele, he traveled in a carriage by short stages. At the end of thirty-nine days, at the home of Abraham Byrd in the upper Shenandoah Valley, he was unable to proceed. Given cordial reception at the Byrd home, he remained there until his death on August 2, 1784. He was buried in the Byrd burying ground: the grave was not permanently marked and its location is now not known.

All available statements respecting Elisha Parmele bear testimony to his fine character.

Elisha Parmele deserves high praise for executing the commission to establish the New England Alphas. He shared William Short's enthusiasm for the Society and its ideals and had the hope that it might serve to unite the sections of the country, and weld the political union formed during the War for Independence.

The Society from the beginning placed emphasis on friendship in

things literary, but its members were strong in their patriotism. In bearing the torch to New England, Elisha Parmele was promoting a Society not for political but for scholarly purposes. Dr. Edward Everett Hale expressed the opinion that the Federal Constitution tended to lessen the influence of Phi Beta Kappa in promoting national union and that its members thought more highly of educational activity than of political. Dr. Hale may have been influenced by the opinion which was widely accepted but incorrect—that the letters S P on the medals stood for *Salus Patriæ.*

Early Days of the Alpha of Massachusetts

The responsibility of the four members of the class of 1782 continued through the academic year. As at Yale, student members were chosen from the juniors, who would be in charge during their senior year. Also chosen were some recent graduates who, living at Cambridge as college officers or as graduate students, could help establish the Alpha's standing and make for permanence in membership. From this group presidents were selected, and later, the corresponding secretaries. A dual organization developed, student members forming the immediate society, and the graduate society assuming responsibility for anniversaries, for general policy, and for correspondence with other branches.

On their return to College, the four members met on September 5, and this became established as the foundation date of the new Alpha. Of that session the secretary wrote:

"Met agreeably to appointment at Brother Bartlett's room, when after reading the forms and ceremonies necessary to be understood. Previously to the admittance of any member, it was agreed, that each member upon being admitted into the Φ B K pay into the treasury the sum of three shillings, in specie. Voted that a fair and legible copy of the laws be written from the original and presented to the Society at their next meeting, which stands adjourned to Saturday, 8th inst."

When they convened in the same room, after reading the laws transcribed from the original, a vote was passed that Messrs. Bigelow, Bowman, Capen, Codman and Esterbrooks be sounded for admission, and that a report be made at the next meeting.

Happily the charter, ritual and laws received from Virginia were copied in the Alpha's first book of minutes; the "Oath of Initiation," and "The Table," or explanation of the cipher, were also included. Then were copied fourteen laws adopted later, the first in 1784 and the last in 1794, numbered consecutively twenty-three to thirty-six. The minutes of the meetings followed.

It was arranged to hold fortnightly meetings, usually on Wednesday evenings. Nine were held before the holidays, eleven more before commencement. Literary exercises began in November and continued with fair regularity, and the general business was transacted, including election and initiation of members. The five men "sounded for admission" accepted and were initiated on September 19.

It was then voted that each member was to procure a medal as soon as possible. Mr. Calender, the jeweler, was instructed to deliver medals "to those only who shall present a certificate signed by the president of the Φ B K."

During that year twenty-three other students were initiated, fourteen from the class of 1782 and nine juniors. Of these one did not graduate, and another did not receive his degree until 1784. In November, "Mr. Butler Elijah Paine" of the class of 1781 was invited to join the Society, and with five seniors was initiated on the Society's fifth anniversary, December 5. Two weeks later Paine's classmate, "Sir Nathan Reed," was received, and in April "Sir Bezaleel Howard." At the last meeting of the year, three others of the class of 1781 were welcomed. One of these was a student of theology; four were students of law, and as such were entitled to have "Sir" before their names. Thomas Perkins of the class of 1779 was received in April, that he might bear a communication to the members in Virginia. At the end of its first year the Alpha at Harvard had a membership of thirty-one, of whom seven were graduates.

The question of communicating with the other branches was first mentioned at the third meeting, when President Kendal was requested to write to the Alpha Society at Williamsburg. The following March it was voted that a letter be written to the Φ B K at New Haven, inclosing one of the Φ B K in Virginia; Brothers Kendal and Paine were elected for the purpose.

The plan was changed when the letter to Virginia, first ordered to be directed to the President of the College of Williamsburg, was later confided to Brother Perkins. The letters to New Haven and Williamsburg, as prepared by the committee, were read and accepted on March 20. The one to New Haven, dated March 23, 1782, was in cipher, and has remained in the archives of the Alpha at Yale. It is here printed as deciphered:

Gentlemen:-

We take this earliest opportunity to inform you that, agreeably to a Charter from Williamsburgh, the Φ B K Society was established at this University in the month of July last, by the name of Αλφα of Massachusetts.

Our earnest desire to cherish those seeds of friendship, already planted, by the mutual communication of good offices has engaged us, though a younger society, to ask of you the favor, and invite you to the advantages of a literary correspondence.

As we have the interest of the two Universities, as well as that of the Brothers of the Φ B K in view, we wish you to communicate whatever curious or important in the literary way, may fall within your observation.

We with pleasure anticipate the happy emulation which must necessarily arise in either sister when she shall thus view the superior graces and improvements of the other. Our little society here is at present in a very flourishing state. The improvements, which appear in every meeting (and our meetings are frequent) give us the higher satisfaction, as we fancy there are kindred spirits through the continent who behold them without feeling the least emotions of envy.

We shall, with impatience, wait your answer, while we remain your devoted friends and brethren

The Brothers of the Αλφα of Massachusetts.

Samuel Kendal,[1] President.

P.S. We wish you would give us all the information you can respecting the Society at Williamsburgh.

A letter to a fellow member, December 13, 1782, by Henry F. Channing, graduate president of the Alpha of Connecticut, gives impressions of the conditions there. He wrote:

"Since the receipt of brother Kendal's letter I have been at Cambridge and enjoyed the heartfelt satisfaction of taking by the hand our worthy brothers of that society. The mutual cordiality and unreservedness which prevailed at our interviews hath rendered my attachment to our excellent institution more firm than ever. And it was no small confirmation of my attachment to find that they had so clearly adhered to the principles of the institution in the choice of their members; for it is with pleasure that I can assure you that the Alpha of Massachusetts is composed of the reputable, judicious, and amiable part of Harvard, and I am fully of the opinion that if the respective branches of the institution preserve a succession equally worthy, it will never sink into disrepute, but on the contrary (which has already been its effect at Cambridge) furnish an additional incentive to a regular demeanor, and also give an additional spring to literary pursuits. We cannot be too particular in refusing admission to the ignorant and immoral, if we wish to prove ourselves attached to the interest of our institution.

[1] Though he spelled his name thus, it often appears as Kendall.

"When at Cambridge, I had the pleasure of being present at their stated meeting. The good order and perfect regularity of their proceedings engaged my attention and could not but afford sensible pleasure to every member of the Φ B K."

Thus by conferences and correspondence the unity of the Society was increased and the pursuit of common purposes with common methods was encouraged.

The law relative to literary activities was taken seriously at Cambridge. The first subject for discussion was assigned at the third meeting, September 19, when Brothers Bigelow and Codman were directed to write on the question, "whether Benedict Arnold can be considered as a traitor"? What occurred is not recorded, but at succeeding meetings subjects for compositions and extemporaneous disputes were entered. All members were privileged to share in these exercises. Beginning in 1786, the subjects were entered upon the minutes.

The following subjects were some of those discussed:

"Whether Happiness depends more on the state of mind than on external circumstances.

"Whether a student in the University ought to confine his attention chiefly to the study of his profession in life.

"Whether an extorted promise be obligatory.

"Whether mankind be happier in a state of nature or in society.

"Whether religion or commerce conduce most to civilization.

"Whether the Mosaic account of the creation be consistent.

"Whether the separation of America from Great Britain be for the advantage of the former."

Early Anniversaries

On June 5, it was "voted, that Brothers Paine and Peck speak each an oration at the celebration of the anniversary. That they propose their subjects at the next meeting."

Three months were allowed for preparation. As has been noted, meetings were held in the rooms of a member. Later a room was selected outside the College and used for about a month. On June 19, 1782, "on account of the many inconveniences arising from meeting at Mr. Manning's, the Society [voted to] convene in the chapel," evidence of good will on the part of the College. Later use of the chapel for the anniversary was granted. In anticipation it was:

"Voted, that all the members at the celebration of the Anniversary have their medals suspended with pink and sky blue ribband; that the treasurer procure a sufficient quantity of each for this purpose."

Of this first anniversary the minutes make no mention. It was held on the 5th of September; the orator was Elijah Paine. Samuel Kendal, who remained in Cambridge as a student in theology, had been reelected president, and presided at the anniversary. He wrote of it:

"We celebrated our anniversary in the Chapel with open doors. The students generally attended as well as some of the first characters in the State who were on business in the town. This circumstance seemed to give dignity to the society; as the greatest regularity was observed by the members. The students paid us the highest respect, standing in their places till we walked out in order."

In the same letter he said: "I have the pleasure to inform you that our society commands the attention of all who have any knowledge of it, especially of those who belong to the College; and I must suppose it does and will have great influence upon the conduct of the students; as each one seems desirous of being a member; and they are convinced that we are determined to admit none but such as support a good character in the literary as well as moral line."

Kendal expressed satisfaction at the happy beginning of a friendly correspondence, and requested that it be continued. He inquired respecting the society at Williamsburg, stating that "we have heard nothing from them since we received our charter, although we wrote them in the Spring."

As has been said, the charter, ritual and laws were copied in the Harvard Alpha's first book of records. This was not done at the time, for the book was not purchased until May, 1784. Then the secretary, Joshua Paine, was directed to transcribe the laws, votes and orders of the Society from the manuscripts that had accumulated. Thirty pages, therefore, are in one handwriting. Four years later Samuel Shapleigh became secretary and was directed to transcribe the minutes into the new book and exhibit his accounts to the Society for payment. He copied the records from 1783 to June, 1789, omitting the names of the secretaries, except in the instance of Tobias Lear, who on one occasion was entered as the secretary pro tem. (Two years later he became secretary to General George Washington, and continued in office until Washington's death in 1799.) No notes were kept of some meetings; the earliest list of members contains names of persons whose elections were not recorded. The copyists edited the minutes, each using such abbrevations as he preferred.

This first book served the Alpha for twenty-one years and contains the minutes of nearly five hundred meetings.

Though there was no law covering election of members, the same method continued from the beginning. After the winter vacation members

sought candidates from among the juniors and elected those on whom all agreed. A proposal was offered in 1783 at Yale and accepted in 1787, limiting elections to one-third of each class. This was not accepted at Harvard, although the principle prevailed, for in the five years forty-six undergraduates were elected and initiated, actually one-third of those who received A.B. degrees. At times tutors were asked for suggestions, but there was no standard of grades to determine eligibility. Usually initiations were held shortly after the elections, even though on many occasions there was only one candidate.

At the anniversary meeting in 1784, five graduates were elected—Asa Piper, a classmate of Elisha Parmele; John Hale, a tutor; Henry White, Edward Gray, and William Stedman, graduate students. Thus the number of graduate members at the College was nearly doubled. Three years later, Dr. Joshua Baker, Rev. Aaron Bancroft and Rev. Asa Packard were elected "to be sounded by Brothers Ware, Kendal and Green. That those persons be admitted without the usual forms, and that the oath be administered by the persons who sounded them."

The dual organization developed without changing the laws. Two days before the second anniversary a committee was appointed to provide entertainment for the occasion, and Samuel Kendal was chosen orator. On anniversary day at an early-morning meeting the committee reported that "the Entertainment was provided." Kendal resigned, and was voted the "earnest thanks of the Society for his good services" during his two terms as president. Elijah Paine was chosen his successor. At the public exercises in the Chapel, Samuel Kendal, who a year earlier had presided and introduced Elijah Paine, was introduced by Paine as orator at the second anniversary. The members then marched to the place of entertainment for the first of a long series of Phi Beta Kappa dinners at Harvard.

Thus two customs were inaugurated—a morning business meeting and a dinner after public exercises in the chapel.

At the anniversary of 1784 one graduate was elected. Though two members had been chosen, only one orator was introduced: Henry Ware, who had received his degree six weeks before, and was beginning his course in theology. He was to serve the Alpha as vice-president and president, 1786–1791, and later the University as Hollis Professor of Divinity, 1805–1840.

At the fifth anniversary, on September 6, 1786, only one of the orators appeared. For the first time the secretary gave details of the occasion, including the initiation of two seniors. The Society then proceeded to the chapel, where "an elegant and spirited oration on Friendship was delivered by Brother Andrews, then returned to Bro. Harris' Chamber."

The secretary wrote of important business, but not of the dinner. During the year three brothers—Paine, Ware and Thompson—had been made a committee to draw up a plan for a private library, and the books first purchased were on hand for examination. Officers were elected, and the application from Dartmouth College for a charter was discussed.

Cordial inter-society relationship was thus expressed in the concluding paragraph of a letter received from Barnabas Bidwell, president of the Alpha of Connecticut: "With pleasure we received the information of your flourishing condition; and beg you to accept our warmest wishes that you may long continue to flourish, and diffuse the influence of Literature, Morality and Friendship throughout Massachusetts and the neighboring States. In our turn we feel a conscious satisfaction in saying that the institution here becomes more and more a source of pleasure and improvement to the members, as well as an object of ambition and consequently an inducement to scientific exertions, among the students in the younger classes."

The concluding anniversary of this period was celebrated on September 5, 1787. The increase of the library required the appointment of a committee to devise a code of laws for its regulation. The secretary wrote also that after the business session, "the Society then proceeded to the Chapel where elegant and spirited orations were delivered by Bros. Lowell and Freeman on History and Friendship."

A youthful member of the Alpha, John Quincy Adams, who had graduated in July, entered in his diary a paragraph that supplements the secretary's minutes. He wrote:

"We walk'd in procession to the Chapel, preceded by the two orators [Lowell and Freeman]. Freeman gave us an oration containing miscellaneous observations, without any professed subject; and this, like all his other performances, was extremely well written, and equally well deliver'd. Lowell gave us an encomium upon History, which contained a number of very good observations, but his delivery was not without a share of that affectation which, if I may so express myself, is natural to him. The students attended very generally except those of the Senior Class; who kept off, from a spirit of envy, all except D. [Josiah Dwight]. We return'd to the butler's room, and soon after proceeded to Mr. Warland's, where we had an excellent dinner provided for us. Besides the members of the present Senior class, there were present Mr. Kendall, and Mr. B. Green, Mr. Ware, Mr. Andrews, Mr. Harris, Packard, Cranch, Freeman, and myself. After passing a couple of hours in friendly mirth and festivity, at three o'clock we adjourn'd again to Packard's chamber.

"On account of the Dudleian lecture we adjourn'd the meeting till

five o'clock, when we again met, and there being no further business, the meeting was then dissolved."

The code of laws received with the charter provided for amendments "in cases where local convenience alone may make it necessary."

At Yale a thorough revision was soon proposed, with the understanding that material changes should be adopted by both Alphas. This was expressed in a letter sent to President Kendal at Harvard by President Channing of the Alpha of Connecticut, in the fall of 1782:

"When I had the honor of writing you in July we were deliberating upon the report of a committee appointed for the purpose of revising the laws of the Φ B K, proposing any amendments or additional laws which they shall judge conducive to the interests of the Alpha of Connecticut. Their report was accepted and the enclosed laws and regulations which I have the honor of transmitting to you, were established as the laws of the said Alpha."

These were not amendments to specific laws, or additions to the code, but were resolutions which had been adopted provisionally. They provided for one regular meeting each month, the officers to be chosen on the first Thursday in December, which was also to be the anniversary; for adequate fines instead of an initiation fee; for the holding of elections of Juniors on or near the first Monday in July, one-third of each class, "select characters such as shall do honor to the institution," being eligible; for the sending of lists of new members to the sister societies, similar lists being requested in exchange. They further stipulated that, in order that the "laws may be fully known and strictly adhered to, the secretary was to read the charter and laws of the Society at the celebration of the anniversary.

These proposals were referred at Harvard to a committee. Before any conclusion was reached, President Channing visited Cambridge and was deeply impressed with the orderly conduct of the meeting he was asked to attend. He therefore favored a reconsideration of their proposals.

"I am clearly of the opinion," he wrote, "that the uniformity of the different branches is carefully to be preserved, and that the established Code of Laws is not to be materially altered without the concurrence of the respective branches. Whether upon these principles the law above referred to is eligible, or can be supported, is a question that may be worthy of the attention of our Αλφα."

The proposal for a general revision did not find favor at Harvard, and at Yale the new constitution was not put into effect at once; but the provision of the charter for annual reports of members received and officers chosen was made more specific, and it was voted that the sec-

retary was to record the letters sent to other branches of the Society as well as those received. If these records were made, they have not been preserved.

Thus the original code proved remarkably satisfactory at Yale until 1787, and at Harvard for nearly forty years. During this period the Society gained in reputation and standing largely through its anniversaries. By developing a dual organization, it provided for stability, with its policy guided by graduate members. Choice of student members remained with the undergraduate Societies, with few elections to honorary membership.

An Early Application Denied

The first application for a charter to establish an additional Northern branch came to Yale in January, 1783, from four members living at Albany, New York. Simeon Baldwin and John Lovett, then students of law, were members at Yale; Stephen and John Van Rensselaer were members of the Alpha at Harvard. Baldwin's letter to the president of the Alpha of Connecticut reads:

> To the United Brothers of the Φ B K of the meeting Alpha of Connecticut.
>
> Gentlemen:
>
> At a meeting of Messrs. Stephen and John Rensselaer, Mr. Lovett and myself, all members of our Fraternity; having canvassed the advantages of our Society, and considered our situation which seems peculiarly adapted to promote the pleasures and designs of our Institution; it was agreed to request of you the necessary powers to establish a meeting in this place, similar to yours.
>
> I do therefore by the desire and in the name of the above-mentioned gentlemen, ask and petition of you the Alpha of Connecticut, a copy of the Laws of the Society and a Charter which shall authorize us to establish a similar meeting, which may be known by the name of the Alpha of the State of New York.
>
> You'll take the matter into consideration and if you please to grant our request, a safe opportunity may be had by the bearer, or if the papers cannot be made ready so soon, we wish you to send them by the first safe opportunity.

Baldwin later returned to New Haven and was active for many years in the affairs of the Alpha there.

The Alpha of New Hampshire at Dartmouth

An application for a charter for Dartmouth was presented to the Alpha of Massachusetts at its fifth anniversary in 1786. Charles Marsh, of

the class of 1786, brought the application to Cambridge. A minute of the meeting reads:

"Upon application being made by a Gentleman from Dartmouth College for the introduction of the Φ B K into that seat of Literature, it was debated whether we had a right to give a charter out of the State, for the Incorporation of the Φ B K. It was determined in the negative. Then the following votes were passed:

"1st. That the Φ B K of Williamsburgh and New Haven be consulted respecting the power of granting a charter for the incorporation of this Society in another State. Whether the Αλφα of each State has that power, and whether they consent to its being introduced at Dartmouth.

"2nd. That Brothers Ware, Paine, and Andrews be a Committee to write to the Universities of Williamsburgh and New Haven as soon as may be convenient respecting the above vote.

"3rd. That the Letters be forwarded at the expense of the Society."

The letter to Yale reads in part:

"As it is the design of our Institution to enlarge the mind by improvements in useful literature and also to cultivate true friendship, benevolence and virtue, it is certainly our duty to use every measure for effecting these noble purposes. An opportunity now presents itself for enlarging the circle of the Φ B K.

"A request has been made to us by a number of worthy students of Dartmouth College, that a Charter be granted them for establishing in that Seminary a branch of the Φ B K. Their request we considered and voted to grant it, should it be agreeable to our Brothers in Virginia and Connecticut . . . It has been made a question in our Society, whether any one branch of the Φ B K, without the concurrence of the others, has a right to grant a Charter to members of a College in a different State. We request you to favor us with your opinion on this subject."

This letter to the president of the Φ B K Society in New Haven was signed by Joshua Paine, in behalf of the Society.

No reply has been preserved. A second letter from Harvard expressed the opinion that, since no reply had been had from Williamsburg, the two Alphas "might venture, for the present instance, jointly to grant a Charter without waiting for the consent of our Brothers at William and Mary," relying on "the same benevolence which prompted them to extend the usefulness of the Society beyond the limits of their own College."

The letter continues:

"Should these sentiments meet your approbation, and should an application from Dartmouth be made again to you, you might grant the Charter; the person who should receive it must engage to bring or send it here to be signed by our President, and we would communicate the

Laws and Secrets of the Institution. If, on the other hand, the application be made to us, we will grant the Charter, upon condition that it be signed by your President, and that the Laws and Secrets be communicated by you."

In a reply to these proposals which was read at the meeting of the Alpha at Harvard on May 24, 1787, the Alpha of Connecticut stated that it fully approved them, particularly as it had learned that the Alpha of Virginia was inactive, and that, "from the unpromising situation of the College, a Revival seems hardly to be expected." The Alpha "voted: That Brother Packard write to a friend at Dartmouth College informing him of the state of affairs respecting the introduction of this Society into that College."

Four weeks later Aaron Kinsman appeared at Cambridge and awaited the action of the Alpha. It was voted:

"That this Society transmit a Charter of the Φ B K to Dartmouth College, in order that the Society may be established there.

"That Aaron Kinsman a Senior Sophister of Dartmouth College be admitted, that Brother Packard introduce him and Brother Harris receive him.

"That he pay his entrance money for the benefit of the Society at Dartmouth.

"That Brother Harris 2d transcribe the Charter and that Brother Abbot 1st, Harris 1st, and Packard dictate."

Thus ended the discussions at Harvard. The charter then prepared resembled the one brought by Elisha Parmele from Williamsburg. A few significant changes are apparent. In Article VI the right to grant charters without the concurrence of all the branches of the Society was denied; and the article respecting inter-society correspondence proposed that a letter be written "once in every year, to wit, in the fortnight after your Anniversary . . . to the President of each branch of the Society, containing a List of your Officers, your Members, the name of the State, the County, and place of Abode."

The charter concludes with Article X, which reads:

"That with the concurrence and consent of our Brothers at New Haven, we do hereby ratify and confirm this charter and all the rights, privileges, authority and power granted by the same, unto you the said Aaron Kinsman, the members of the Φ B K of the University at Hanover and their Successors forever; and confidently relying on the prudence and discretion of you, our Brother, we do secure the same with our Reputations and Fortunes.

"In testimony whereof we hereunto set our hands, and affix the Seal of the Society, this the twenty first day of June in the year of our Lord

One thousand seven hundred and eighty seven, and in the Eleventh of the American Independence.

"In the name and in behalf of the Αλφα of Massachusetts

"Joshua Paine, Præses."

The following minute states the action taken at Yale:

"A charter for the Alpha of New Hampshire, at Dartmouth in Hanover, which has been granted to Aaron Kinsman, Senior of the University, was ratified, by this Alpha and agreeable to their order, signed by the President, and delivered with the Secrets and Laws of the Institution. This new establishment has supplied the loss which the Society sustained in the extinction of the Alpha of Virginia."

The charter was thus attested: "We the members of the Φ B K of the Alpha of Connecticut, do hereby unanimously concur with our Brethren of the Alpha of Massachusetts, in giving, granting, ratifying and confirming the foregoing Charter, with all the rights, powers and privileges of the same. Done at the University in New Haven, in the State of Connecticut, this fourteenth day of August, A.D. 1787.

"Barna Bidwell, President."

Dartmouth College succeeded an Indian charity school begun at Lebanon, Connecticut, by Rev. Eleazar Wheelock, Yale 1733. Its founding was made possible by funds from England to be used to support Wheelock's school for Indians, which after 1755 was known as Moor's Indian Charity School. The charter, issued in 1769 by Governor John Wentworth, was for a college with the Charity School under the personal direction of President Wheelock. Wentworth's offer of a charter and a large tract of land led to the selection of Hanover. The College was opened in the fall of 1770, and in August, 1771, four students who had transferred from Yale received degrees. The College grew in numbers and reputation, though hampered by inadequate financial support. However, work upon a large Dartmouth Hall, begun in 1786, proceeded slowly under John Wheelock, who in 1788 succeeded his father as president. The erection of the hall gave such tangible evidence of growth as to encourage faculty and students alike.

The average number of graduates during the first ten years was twelve. In the next two classes, twenty-five and twenty-seven received degrees. It was under these conditions that Charles Marsh of the class of 1786 applied for a Society charter, and Aaron Kinsman brought it to the College the following year.

Shortly after the Alpha was instituted, a book of minutes was purchased, and the "Form of a Charter," the "Form of Initiation," and "The Laws of the Αλφα of New Hampshire" were copied. In the form of initia-

tion but one change appears: "So Help me God" was omitted from the oath. The laws were essentially those submitted by the Society at Yale, except that an admission fee of six shillings was due from every member, immediately after his admission.

The Alpha soon secured a chest in which to keep its records. Its most important document is the charter. There is a careful roster of members, the first printed catalogue being issued in 1806. Several early manuscript rolls are preserved at Yale, containing the names of those received from the beginning until 1804.

When the Alpha was formed at Dartmouth, it came into competition with two literary societies—The Social Friends, organized in 1783, and the United Fraternity, in 1786. "Pursuing both the same objects by methods precisely similar, they maintained their existence some ninety years and during that period counted the entire body of students in their membership."

Minutes of the first meeting state that the charter was "delivered to Aaron Kinsman by the members of the Αλφα of Massachusetts to be established at the University of Hanover to be denominated the Αλφα of New Hampshire."

Kinsman then proceeded to admit Simon Backus, Ebenezer Brown, Jonas Hartwel, and Pierson Thurston. These members, on "Monday the twentieth of August one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven" selected the following as Officers for the Day: President, Aaron Kinsman; Secretary, Ebenezer Brown; Treasurer, Simon Backus." This was . . . "to be considered the Foundation meeting of the Αλφα of New Hampshire at the University of Hanover. And by this twentieth day of August, the day on which our Foundation Meeting was held, the anniversary of the Society is ever to be regulated."

Five days later J. Lyndon Arnold, Daniel Chipman, Sylvanus Backus and Daniel Dana were received as members of the ΦBK Society. On August 27 the following were chosen officers for the year: Aaron Kinsman, president; Daniel Chipman, vice-president; Daniel Dana, secretary; Sylvanus Backus, treasurer; Josiah Lyndon Arnold, judge of composition. All the officers were juniors except Kinsman, who may have planned to remain a year as a graduate student.

At two other meetings four men were initiated: a junior, a senior, and two from previous classes who were to remain for graduate studies. The junior, Alvin Hyde, later given the office of register, became a clergyman, and in 1793 succeeded Elisha Parmele as minister of the Church at Lee, Massachusetts. Later he became vice-president of Williams College. The two graduate members were associated with Dartmouth—Moses Fish, 1786, as a tutor for six years, and John Hubbard, after a term

as judge of the New Hampshire Probate Court, as professor of mathematics and natural philosophy.

At the commencement on September 18, Kinsman was valedictorian. The exercises were held in the new Dartmouth Hall, then "covered indeed, but unfinished and untenanted . . . in the empty expanse of its lower story, untrammeled as yet by partitions." On a platform, recently erected, sat the president, a large number of the clergy, the candidates for the first degree, and the undergraduates of the College.

The forenoon was taken up with orations, disputes, and dialogues in four languages—English, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. After dinner came another series of six, which closed with a "pathetic valedictory" by Kinsman. "All went well till the afternoon was much advanced, when . . . a number of eager spectators climbed up the sides of the official platform, and sad to tell, it suddenly collapsed, piling up the aspiring auditors and the dignitaries promiscuously upon the floor. Some of the reverend gentlemen, we are especially told, had to look for themselves in one place and their wigs in another."

On May 20, 1788 the campaign for members began in earnest, with gratifying results. Before the anniversary, held that year on September 5, one graduate, two seniors, and eight juniors were initiated with the usual formalities.

The record omits reference to the anxiety the members had felt during part of the year, an anxiety described in a letter of that time. Daniel Chipman, the Alpha's first vice-president, shortly before the anniversary, had journeyed to New Haven for a visit to the Alpha there and brought with him the letter which had been read, "the first of the kind we had ever received."

A week after the anniversary, Chipman sent a long letter, containing important information, to Jonathan Leavitt of the Alpha of Connecticut: "We are happy in having your approbation of our proceedings, not having had so much confidence in the legality of them as in the goodness of our intentions. Happy we are in hearing you take a satisfaction in the firm establishment of our new branch. Till our late election it remained doubtful whether we should be able to resist the violent opposition made to our establishment, or whether we must have suffered the effects of envy and ignorance in ceasing to exist. But we have now the pleasure to inform you that our existence *is* and is likely to continue. We were fearful of a combination among the students and an agreement not to join the Society, but not one refused who was invited. At present we believe our situation is equal to our most sanguine expectations, and nothing, we flatter ourselves, can hinder us from flourishing and in every respect answering the design of our Institution.

"Mr. Stebbins from your University has lately been here who informed us that our Constitution was published at Yale and that copies of it might be easily secured. A few days ago one of our *Antis* received our Form of Initiation in a letter from his friend in Connecticut who informed him that he would send the Laws at the first opportunity. The Form of Initiation which we have seen was copied verbatim. We take very little notice of the matter; we would however wish to know the villain that has stolen your papers, that we may unitedly pour our execrations on his 'guilty head' . . .

"We have had thoughts of admitting more than a third part of the present Junior Class, but have concluded it to be out of our power unless necessity should require. We have likewise been at a loss whether such a precedent would be promotive of the good of the Institution at large, to forward which your Brothers of the Alpha of New Hampshire pay the closest attention, and are ready to make every exertion in their power."

The temptation to disregard the one-third limit continued at Dartmouth for many years. The Alpha had elected ten students when twenty-four students received degrees. At the conclusion of the Alpha's first year it had a total membership of thirty, one-half of whom had been chosen from the alumni of the College. Ten seniors would bear responsibility during the next academic year.

By the successful organization of the Alpha of New Hampshire, Phi Beta Kappa became well established in New England. However, in 1788 the membership was not large. To the fifty members at William and Mary, about 120 had been added at Yale, 100 at Harvard, and 30 at Dartmouth, making a total of 300.

CHAPTER IV

A Period of Testing: 1788-c.1818

THREE PHI BETA KAPPA ALPHAS were now well established, though the one at Dartmouth was in its infancy. Of the total membership in New England, about two hundred and fifty, a good proportion were undergraduates or those pursuing graduate studies. Many of these were destined, by distinguished careers, to add strength and dignity to American life in all its higher phases.

This progress had been accomplished during a trying period. The War was far from decided when Elisha Parmele accepted membership in the young Society in 1779. The years after the victory at Yorktown were so full of anxiety that many persons were tempted to despair. The charter for the Alpha at Dartmouth was being prepared while the Constitutional Convention was still sitting in Philadelphia. State conventions and elections to select members of the first Congress, and the setting up of the new government under the Constitution were to follow. It was indeed, a time of beginnings, and Phi Beta Kappa had come through its first decade with undiminished confidence.

The expectations of rapid expansion and wide political influence which had been entertained at William and Mary, had been forgotten. The officers of the Alphas at Harvard and Yale were content to strengthen their position and to wait until groups at other colleges, as they became stronger, should apply for charters.

During this period the older colleges made real progress. Ezra Stiles continued as President of Yale until his death in May, 1795. His successor, Timothy Dwight, served until 1817. Though not a member of the Society, he seems to have regarded it highly, for he selected thirty-four of its members as tutors. New professorships were established: mathematics in 1801, mineralogy and geology in 1802, and ecclesiastical history in 1805, all filled by former tutors and members of the Society—Jonathan Day, Benjamin Silliman and James Luce Kingsley. On the death of President Dwight the chair of divinity was filled by another member, Eleazar Thompson Fitch, who continued until 1863. These four men served the College an average of more than half a century and exerted a wide influence at Yale and throughout the country.

At Harvard the problems arising from the War for Independence were solved, and President Joseph Willard (1781–1804) was able to see finan-

cial difficulties largely overcome, the College freed from political control, standards raised, and professorships established in physics, chemistry, materia medica, anatomy and surgery. These laid the foundation for an important medical school. During the next decade chairs of Latin and Greek were established. Samuel Weber, class of 1784, succeeded President Willard as president in 1806 and had the distinction of being the first member of Phi Beta Kappa to be president of Harvard—the first of eleven members who have directed the University.

Of the forty-nine tutors appointed between 1781 and 1817, forty-seven were members of Phi Beta Kappa. A similar tendency is apparent in the appointment of professors. John Quincy Adams, first to hold the Boylston professorship of rhetoric, oratory and eloquence, was succeeded in 1809 by Joseph McKean; Henry Ware became professor of theology; Levi Frisbie, the first professor of Latin; Asher Ware, the first professor of Greek; and Edward Everett, the first professor of Greek literature—all in 1814.

Harvard and Yale enjoyed a healthy increase. The average number of graduates during Phi Beta Kappa's first decade at Harvard was thirty-six; during three succeeding decades the averages were forty, forty-six and sixty. At Yale the averages for the same decades were forty, thirty-one, fifty-four and sixty. During those four decades Harvard awarded 1,830 A.B. degrees, and Yale 1,861—a remarkably even record.

Dartmouth differed from the older colleges because Hanover was distant from a city. However, the College grew in numbers of students, in buildings, and in importance. At Dartmouth, too, new tutors were members of the new Society, and some of them later became professors. Ebenezer Adams became professor of Latin and Greek in 1809, and was later transferred to natural philosophy. He was succeeded in the classics by Zephaniah Swift Moore, who became president of Williams, then of Amherst. With the selection of Dr. Nathan Smith in 1798 as professor of medicine, a medical school was begun. After 1810, when Cyrus Perkins became professor of anatomy and surgery, others of the faculty were members of Phi Beta Kappa.

The attendance at Dartmouth during the three decades was remarkably uniform, the average number of graduates being about thirty-five. During those thirty years A.B. degrees were conferred upon 1,048 students. Nearly one-third were from Massachusetts; others, in decreasing proportions, from Vermont, Maine and Connecticut. Naturally the Society participated in the growing renown of the New England colleges. Closely associated with them, it was able to maintain its independence, and in large measure to determine its future.

Elections at the Alphas

The three Alphas followed the same method in electing undergraduates from the juniors during the months before commencement. After the initiations and after the commencement meetings the seniors were listed as graduate members.

The rule requiring unanimous choice resulted in some conflicts of opinion and delayed elections until the senior year. Graduates seem to have exercised no direct control over the choosing. At Yale and Harvard a graduate officer was accustomed to preside at initiations, where those "approbated" were "metamorphosed into Brethren."

The following table shows the proportion of undergraduates who became members during the thirty-year period:

STUDENTS AWARDED A.B. DEGREES AND ΦBK MEMBERSHIP

Decade	*At Yale*		*At Harvard*		*At Dartmouth*	
	A.B.	ΦBK	A.B.	ΦBK	A.B.	ΦBK
1788–1797	314	115	375	136	331	114
1798–1807	476	166	467	157	346	122
1808–1817	529	201	554	144	362	109
	1,319	482	1,396	437	1,039	345

The number of undergraduates elected did not determine the relative importance of the several Alphas. The Society's standing depended upon its anniversaries, the members in attendance, the character of the orators and poets, and the publicity given them. The proximity of Cambridge to Boston and other growing centers of population gave the Alpha of Massachusetts unusual leadership, from which the Society as a whole profited.

Literary Activities

As we follow the growth of the Society, we read with interest of the varied activities of the Alphas, the changes made in their methods of electing members, their financial transactions, and in general how they met their unusual problems. Bi-monthly meetings gave the members opportunity for literary expression, training in Society management, and, best of all perhaps, the chance to know each other better. Selecting and initiating members was a prime responsibility. When this was done, the seniors passed on into the alumni organization of the colleges and the wider circle of the Society. The test of scholarship was recognized as vital but offered difficulties, since merit was not easy to appraise.

Meetings were held with great regularity. We do not know the place at Yale, but at Harvard meetings were held in student rooms. This was the custom at Hanover until 1812, when a room in Dartmouth Hall was fitted for literary societies and other organizations. The minute of May 21 tells of meeting for the first time in "the elegant New Hall."

The subjects for discussion offer the same variety as those at William and Mary, reflecting changes in political and social conditions. At Yale, debates were judged by those not taking part; the decision when there was not an "equal division of voices" might be by a majority of one.

As an illustration of the subjects discussed at Yale two lists are given:

Subjects Decided in the Affirmative:

Ought the Press to be unrestrained?
Did all men descend from Adam?
Ought the slaves of America to be emancipated?
Ought ministers to be supported by taxation?
Is the order of lawyers beneficial to Community?
Has religion been for the temporal interest of Mankind?
Are the powers to the Federal Government calculated to increase upon the powers of the State Government?
Does Matter exist?
Were the Scriptures given by divine inspiration?
Was the Flood universal?
Are theatres beneficial?
Was the Fall of the Roman Empire beneficial to mankind?
Are extorted promises, the fulfilment of which is lawful, morally obligatory?
Can human reason demonstrate the benevolence of the deity?
Whether marriage is a beneficial institution.

Subjects Decided in the Negative:

Ought females to share in Civil Government?
Are wars beneficial to mankind?
Does intoxication palliate a crime?
Can the slave trade be justified on the principles of morality or policy?
Is a national debt a national benefit?
Can Brutus be justified in killing Caesar?
Can the immortality of the Soul be proved from the light of nature?
Ought divorces to be granted for any other cause but adultery?
Would it be politic to institute a public fund for the support of the Clergy?
Ought the United States to take part in the present war in favor of France?

Ought the Websterian orthography to be followed in America?
Does moral necessity preclude moral agency?
Would it be just for the United States to prohibit the settlement of immigrants in this Country?

At Harvard the following subjects are listed as having been discussed between 1790 and 1815:

Whether riches tend to corrupt morals.
Whether the reading of novels be upon the whole beneficial.
Whether matrimony be more productive of private happiness than celibacy.
Whether an increase of knowledge be accompanied by an increase of happiness.
Whether it would be for the advantage of this University to be situated at a greater distance from the Metropolis.
Whether the moral improvement of mankind be in proportion to their increase of knowledge.
Whether the civilization of American Indians be practicable.
Whether the desire of wealth be a greater stimulus to action than the desire of fame.
Whether Conscience have a greater influence on our actions than interest.
Whether it be more noble to stand alone in defense of truth, than to sacrifice a daring opinion for the sake of peace.
Whether it be lawful in any case for government to tolerate sin.
Whether duelling be prejudicial to Society.
Whether the prospect of a future profession ought to influence the direction of our studies at college.
Would a national University be advantageous to America?
Whether affluence or poverty be more productive of vice.
Whether the liberty of the Press be advantageous to the United States.
Whether policy would justify the establishment of a standing army in the United States of America.
Whether conversation with the fair sex be advantageous to a student.
Whether clergymen should be allowed the liberty of marriage.
Whether an equal distribution of property would increase the happiness of mankind.
Whether Bonaparte could conquer the Island of Great Britain if he should land safely with an army of two hundred thousand men.
Whether it is advantageous to a scholar to be in love.
Whether Adam had a navel.
Whether it be right for a neutral nation to trade with the Colonies

and Mother Country of a belligerent from which it was excluded in time of peace.

Whether the education of males or of females has the most happy influence on society.

Whether the study of the Greek and Latin classics be at the present day a judicious part of the education of a youth.

Whether a public education be, on the whole, preferable to a private.

Whether the wearing of low bosoms, in compliance with custom and fashion, be any impeachment of a lady's modesty.

Shortly afterward interest in these discussions declined, and debates ceased before 1820.

At Dartmouth, secretaries reported on many occasions that "the usual exercises were performed," and yet thirty years passed before any topic of discussion was reported, the first being entered in September 1830. During that year these subjects were argued:

Do literary and scientific or religious inquiries tend most to develop the mental powers?

Do circumstances ever justify a departure from moral principle?

Is legislation upon education beneficial?

Ought a certain degree of wealth be required to constitute a legal voter?

Are correct political theories really as impracticable as is generally imagined?

Is political ambition consistent with moral integrity?

Is the progress of knowledge unfavorable to originality?

These may be considered typical. Secretaries often wrote with enthusiasm of these exercises, which were continued until 1845, when, under an amendment adopted by faculty members, elections were postponed to the close of the senior year, thus ending student activities.

Troubles at Dartmouth and Yale

Each Alpha met its own special difficulties. That the Society as a whole did not suffer more severely from the theft of the records at Yale, and the dissemination of copies of its constitution, may be because the loss escaped newspaper publicity. The policy of silence proved effective.

The Alpha at Dartmouth was the victim of a theft similar to that at Yale. The secretary confined his record to the confession of three seniors before the second anniversary, held on July 25, 1789. Jacob Smith admitted that he had been the "prime agent," Uriel Chapin, the "deputy agent," and Nathan Lakeman, an accomplice. Chapin

confessed that he "assisted in a disgraceful and clandestine manner in breaking open the chest of Elihu Dwight, my room-mate, a member of Dartmouth College . . . when he was absent." Smith admitted that he "in a clandestine and scandalous manner broke open the chest . . . and took from it papers belonging to the Φ B K Society, which to them were of great value and ought to have been kept a profound secret, and likewise published them, not only among the students of Dartmouth College, but at Cambridge." He confessed further that he considered his act "as highly criminal and infamous," because he had "taken unwearied pains to undermine and overthrow said Society," and that his "conduct in this matter has arisen from envy and malice." His confession reads: "I do now in a most sincere and penitential manner confess myself guilty of the above crimes and with humility ask your pardon, promising that my future conduct shall give you full and ample satisfaction for my present sincerity."

The confessions of Chapin and Lakeman are similar. In addition to their confessions, the three students signed a paper, which reads:

"We the subscribers most solemnly call the Supreme Being to witness, That we will each of us forever keep entirely secret, within our own breasts, whatever we know or shall know in future, directly or indirectly, concerning the charter, laws, regulations, journals, letters, or any other papers, writings or secrets appertaining to the Φ B K Society, that we will deliver up all papers, which we have in our possession, which contain any secrets respecting said Society; also, that we will not copy or keep any papers relative to the secrets of the Society, for our own or any other use; further, that we will use our utmost endeavours and all that can be reasonably required of us to stop the circulation of any papers of the aforesaid kind, which we know to be in the possession of any person or persons to whom the secrets of the said Society do not appertain, by earnestly endeavouring to obtain secret papers and to put them into the hands of a member of the said Society; further, that we will not mention, or make known to any person or persons, that we know anything contained in the secret papers belonging to the Society."

A report of this theft and of the action taken was transmitted to the other Alphas. At Yale, "upon information that the laws of the Alpha of New Hampshire had been stolen and many copies disseminated through the Country," it was voted to rescind a previous declaration that the exhibitions on the day after commencement should be public.

It is interesting to read of the action taken at Harvard regarding the Dartmouth theft. The anniversary there was held as usual on September 8, 1789, when "An elegant and well adapted oration on Taste was delivered by Brother William Emerson to a very respectable audience, con-

sisting of the Governor and Lieutenant Governor, Corporation and Overseers of the University and other distinguished characters." Among the resolutions adopted at the business meeting on that day were the following:

"Whereas one Smith and accomplices, members of Dartmouth College, have wantonly stolen the Charter and Records of the Alpha Society of New Hampshire, being a branch of the Φ B K. The Alpha Society of Massachusetts, members of the Φ B K, having at their anniversary proceeded to act upon the matter:

"Voted, That while they view the conduct of said Smith and accomplices as a wanton attack upon the rights of a voluntary association, and as rendering *them* the objects of their contempt; and while they approve the measure taken by the Alpha Society of New Hampshire to bring *them* to justice; and are pleased with the notice the Government of Dartmouth has taken of *their* base conduct; they do not conceive their Society can be in the least injured by it; that its existence and prosperity are not affected, as the secrets important to the Society are not by this means divulged.

"That because several persons not members of the Society, have endeavoured to discover the manner of salutation peculiar to the Φ B K; this manner be suspended untill the next anniversary."

In his account of this theft, Frederick Chase stated that the culprits were members of the Alpha, and that after their confession they renewed their oaths and were forgiven. However, there is no record of their election and their names do not appear in any catalogue.

Less than three years later, the Dartmouth Society faced another, equally trying experience. Law 20 of the original code provided that no member was to be expelled without the unanimous concurrence of the Society. Law 23, as adopted at Dartmouth, did not affirm the right of expulsion, but subjected the offender to the discretionary punishment of the Society, "provided that no one shall be condemned upon any accusation, without being first allowed to appear with his accuser confronting him and to be heard in his own defense."

On October 30, 1792, the Society convened and examined a report that Brother Azel M. Dunham had unlawfully taken money from one Jeduthan Wilcox. Dunham, a senior, had been a member only three months. After careful investigation, those who brought the charge, "having had sufficient evidence that Brother Azel Dunham had been guilty of feloniously taking the property of Jeduthan Wilcox, requested that the Society would examine the matter and judge thereof as they shall think proper."

At that special meeting it was revealed that Dunham had been

arrested and also that Josiah Dunham, a member of the Society, had offered to reimburse the complainant to the sum of fifty pounds if he would withdraw his charge.

A week later the resident members, together with a considerable number of graduates, passed a motion, ten to one, that Dunham be expelled.

Shortly after the Dunham episode, according to Chase, "There was a general outbreak of a spirit of destruction in a clique of reckless dissipated boys, occasioned by jealousy of elections made by Phi Beta Kappa. It was aimed at nothing less than the extinction of all the College Societies. The Socials were the chief sufferers, as their archives were broken open and their Constitution and records destroyed. The Fraters suffered to a less degree, but five members were expelled from each Society."

A graphic account is given in a letter of Ezekiel Webster, a junior, to his brother, written on May 28, 1803, nine days after he had been admitted to the Alpha. His relation to the Social Friends was uppermost in his mind when he wrote:

> Dear Daniel,—In my last letter [May 21] I informed you that a little affair had taken place which so discomposed me that I had neither control of my thoughts nor the command of my pen. The affair was nothing less than the discovery of a plot which had for its object the destruction of the Fraternity, and not merely the Fraternity, but the conspirators aimed at the abolition of every Society in College. With the secrecy of Jesuits they drew up a paper to that effect, and used all their influence to procure signers, and they were but too successful. A solitary few, apparent *rari nantes in gurgite vasto,* remained unshaken; but one in the Freshman class, one in the Sophomore and three in mine, many of our best members however were absent. By a little exertion we procured more than a fourth, a number sufficient to prevent the alteration of any article in the Constitution. The conspirators driven to despair by this measure, and conscious of possessing a large majority, made an effort to expel those members who were opposed to them and then they could alter the Constitution or destroy it at their pleasure. Seaver was designated as the first victim of their cursed policy, but the attempt failed and we are yet members. I am sorry to tell you that every fellow from Salisbury but myself enlisted under the banner of the conspirators. . . . This conspiracy, I believe, is unparalleled. . . . If it has a parallel it is the conspiracy of the Pazzi against Lorenzo the Magnificent. It is not like Catiline's, for Catiline himself was a saint compared with some of the fellows who plotted this scheme.

Some members of the Alpha seemed to be involved and to require

discipline. The situation was met under the leadership of Thomas A. Merrill, a preceptor in Moor's School and vice-president of the Alpha. A paragraph from the record is quoted:

"May 23, 1803. By order of the Vice-President this Alpha convened. The present interest of this Alpha of New Hampshire rendering it necessary: Voted, That the following be considered as an article of the By-Laws of this Alpha until repealed by a majority of the members resident at College, that in case a Member shall be dismissed from this Society on his application, no conviction being had of any crime or misdemeanor, that he may be again admitted provided the consent of a majority of the members be had, anything in the sixteenth article of the Laws to the contrary notwithstanding."

At another meeting held on the same day, it was voted that Brothers F. Hall, B. Kimball, J. A. Marshall, R. D. Mussey, T. Osgood, A. Peabody, G. C. Shattuck, S. Farley, S. Gile and A. Greely be dismissed from the Society. Of this group the seven first named were of the class of 1803, the others of 1804. Webster was not included, because he fought the conspiracy. Among the number were Gile and Greely, his classmates, who had been received with him. All were members of the Social Fraternity.

Two weeks later, it was voted that Brothers F. Hall, B. Kimball, A. Peabody, G. C. Shattuck, S. Farley, S. Gile, and A. Greely, at their particular request, be restored to their former standing as members of this Society. Two of the three not at once restored were members of the committee of the Socials which redrafted its constitution and effected a reorganization. All three were evidently restored to full membership eventually, for they later participated in the Society's activities and are listed in all catalogues.

Another instance of discipline by the Alpha at Dartmouth was reported by Frederick Chase, and concerned a young man whose exploits created a national and even an international disturbance during the War of 1812. The record is that "John Henry, having by several infamous and overt acts, forfeited all pretensions to moral character, it was unanimously voted [June 4, 1812] that he be expelled. This man enjoyed at that day a wide notoriety. He was not a member of College, but a bright young Irish adventurer who drifted over this country, and after a varied experience in the great cities and as a captain in the army, settled down as a farmer and an editor at Windsor, Vermont, and was in 1806 admitted a member of our Society. In 1809 he performed the office of a secret agent of the British, and being neglected by them, sold for a large sum to President Madison, a copy of his correspondence, tending to compromise not only the British Government, but the Federal Party in New England.

For which of these treacheries this Society condemned him, the record does not disclose."

Significant disciplinary action was taken at Hanover on two other occasions. At the annual meeting, August 24, 1826, a member of nearly twenty years' standing, a lawyer of the adjoining town of Lebanon, was accused and it was:

"Unanimously Resolved, that on account of gross and habitual intemperance, James Hutchinson be and hereby is expelled from the N. H. Alpha of the ΦBK.

"Resolved, That a record be made of this vote, a copy of which duly certified shall be published in the New Hampshire Patriot and Concord Register.

"Resolved, That the Brothers of the other Alphas be informed by letter of this expulsion."

James Hutchinson, of the class of 1806, survived this discipline for over fifty years, and lived until 1877, past his ninety-first birthday. Nearly twenty years after Hutchinson's expulsion similar punishment was administered to a student of the senior class, a member for over a year. The minute recording this is quoted:

"In consideration of the recent development of crimes committed against the State and Community by Mark Durant of So. Walden, Vermont, voted to expel the said Mark Durant from the Phi Beta Kappa Society. Instructed the Register to strike his name from the rolls of the Society."

His degree was withheld for thirteen years and was finally granted in 1858. He became a teacher and died in 1906 in his eighty-eighth year. We find no other cases for many years thereafter.

The Society's Dissolution Proposed

It was inevitable that Phi Beta Kappa should be disturbed by conditions and events of a general character. Two incidents resulted in action by the Alpha of Connecticut.

The Society's dissolution was proposed. This proposal grew out of the republication in 1799 of a book published two years before in Scotland, "Proofs of a Conspiracy against the Religions and Governments of Europe Carried on in the Secret Meetings of the Freemasons, Illuminati, and Reading Societies, collected from good authorities by John Robinson A. M., Professor of Natural Philosophy, and Secretary of the Royal Society of Edinburgh."

Discussion of the evils of secret societies led some members of the Society to print a notice in the Hartford *Courant* of July 29, 1799, in-

viting all who were interested "to attend a general meeting of said Society at the State House approaching Commencement at 7 o'clock A.M. to take into consideration the expediency of abolishing the Alpha of Connecticut, and of corresponding with the other branches of the Society with design to effect the dissolution of the whole institution."

How many members joined in this action is not known. The reason given was that these members were convinced "that secret societies have been improved as engines of intrigue and iniquity; and considering the *time, place,* and *circumstances* which gave birth to this Society, and the probable designs of its institution which are further deducible from the import of its initial letters; . . . they were apprehensive that this Society, tho at present harmless, is liable to be abused to the infidel and seditious purpose of other secret associations."

This notice disturbed members at Harvard, where special meetings were held (the first on August 23) to consider what measures were necessary to be taken in consequence of the advertisement, the import of which was quoted in the minutes. A committee of three was appointed "to prepare a letter of inquiry and remonstrance to the Alpha of Connecticut and to report when ready."

Ten days later the remonstrance provided by the committee was accepted, its members thanked, and it was further voted that the paper be recorded, and dispatched as expeditiously as possible to the Alpha of Connecticut. It consisted of more than one thousand words in the formal language of the day.

No copy is found at Harvard. The document preserved at Yale expresses the affection of the members for their Society, their confidence that it was a blessing and not a menace, and their determination to protect it against attacks:

"Virtue will not be frightened by popular clamors from the performance of its duties. Philosophic ardor shall not hence be intimidated to restrain its inquiries, nor friendship to brake its silken cord. Animated by consciousness of right the noble mind rises superior to opposition. Should it be our fate then to be traduced, let us as individuals boldly profess our attachment to our Society; let us declare, in the teeth of censure that it is not only harmless, but virtuous in its objects, and useful in its effects, that the circumstances of its origin here indicate not a design to sow infidelity with sedition, but a benevolent wish to enlarge the heart and improve the mind; and that our initials are only expressive of a submission to true wisdom from a love of true virtue. Should we meet the rude shock of persecution let us stand firm and undaunted, steady in our resolutions, and more energetic in our exertions. We may confidently hope success. In such a cause it would be a crime to despair. Tho' the superstition of

Sparta encamped her soldiers, the patriotism of Athens engaged and conquered; and tho' our Country, alarmed by dangers which loom up thro the mists of fear, would restrain pursuits as beneficial to her as useful to ourselves, let us with the hardihood of virtue study her interest in spite of her prejudice."

How many members appeared at the meeting on September 12 was not recorded. The minutes read, "The anniversary meeting of the ΦBK Society was held at the State House. Nothing material was transacted. There was some conversation on the expedience of abolishing the Society, but the Society determined to do nothing respecting it."

The Alpha at Yale was also confronted by a situation which was, however, unlike those which gave concern to the members at Dartmouth. Abraham Bishop of the class of 1778, one of the first of the graduates to be chosen to membership, and the chapter's second president, a lawyer residing in New Haven, was invited in 1799 to be orator at the commencement anniversary the following year. He accepted and submitted in advance a printed copy of the address he had prepared. From an extended visit to France he derived a new conception of democracy and applied his ideas to Connecticut. This was two months before the election which was to decide whether John Adams or Thomas Jefferson should be President of the United States. Therefore his address was looked upon as an appeal for the selection of anti-Federalist electors.

A meeting of the Society was called on the eve of the anniversary to consider the situation. Reasons for the action taken are given in the minutes:

"Whereas this Society was established solely for the advancement of Science and Friendship . . . and as Abraham Bishop, Esq., has been by this Society appointed to pronounce an oration at the approaching anniversary in full confidence that the honor of the Society would be regarded in the advancement of Science and Friendship, and whereas the Society is now fully informed that Mr. Bishop . . . has prepared an oration on political subjects to advance the interest of a party, . . . involving the members in that political turmoil which disgraces our Country, and . . . actually caused his oration to be printed without the sanction of the Society; Resolved that this Society do dispense with Mr. Bishop's oration, . . . and that the secretary immediately transmit a copy of this resolve to Mr. Bishop."

Denied a Phi Beta Kappa audience, Bishop secured a hall and gave his address. He affirmed later that he had an audience of more than fifteen hundred.

Though Connecticut chose Adams electors, Jefferson was named President by a vote by States in the House of Representatives. Within a week

Bishop as orator for the Republicans of Connecticut at "their general thanksgiving for the election of Thomas Jefferson as President of the United States," said this of the Phi Beta Kappa incident:

"If I am so weak, wicked and depraved as I have been represented, why was I not driven from the Society of men of character? Certainly I do not court the favor of the great; Why was I not expelled from the Phi Beta Kappa Society? why not from the Academy of Arts and Sciences? You will not do me that honor. But from this moment I cease to be a member of either of these two privileged orders and join myself to the great community of unprivileged men, to whose emancipation from the tyranny of the 'friends of order' and from the arts of political delusion I shall always cheerfully devote these talents, which were never made for literary Societies."

Six months later at a meeting held on September 10, a bill was read containing a statement of Abraham Bishop's misconduct, and requesting his expulsion from the Society. This was "from motives of prudence and policy laid aside. During the consideration of this bill, the question arose, whether morality ought to be a qualification for admission into the Phi Beta Kappa . . . and the question was decided in the affirmative by a majority of 23."

Though the minutes do not record formal action, "expelled" was written against Bishop's name on the margin of the Alpha's register. His public withdrawal from membership was accepted, for his name does not appear in any catalogue of the Alpha, nor has he ever been given the credit due him as its second president. This is the first instance of a withdrawal from membership in Phi Beta Kappa.

The records of the Alpha of Connecticut reveal only one other incident which may interest us today. Samuel G. Phelps, of the class of 1811, refused to pay the fines assessed against him. In a long letter, he repudiated his membership and charged the Society with having acted so unworthily that he regretted having accepted its invitation. The concluding paragraph reveals his attitude:

"As I regard your severity with indifference, so I despise the favours you are able to bestow. There is no honor belonging to a Society whose secrecy, and that only, preserves it from contempt. There is no distinction in being inserted in a catalogue, which though adorned by some illustrious names, is disgraced by others. I leave, therefore, to those who desire it, the pitiful distinction of exciting the curiosity of the multitude, by the veil of mystery that covers your transaction. I leave to the child his rattle box, and being conscious that he who builds upon such puerile distinction, his hopes of future celebrity, will find his future celebrity, a mere puerile distinction."

Phelps's letter seems not to have been brought to the attention of the commencement meeting, for his name remained on the roll and has appeared in all subsequent catalogues. A judge in Vermont, as United States Senator he lived an honored citizen of his state until his death in 1855.

Problems at Harvard

Though the Alpha of Massachusetts escaped the necessity of exercising severe discipine, it was not free from administrative problems. In 1789, because of open criticisms, the president was "requested to make known to the President of the University the Laws and Constitution of said Society." This followed the widespread circulation of copies of their documents after the theft at Yale, and quieted opposition for a time. Thereafter the Alpha's days were peaceful until 1797, when opposition to secrecy led to the defense of the Society, as already mentioned.

At times the Society had difficulty in selecting members. In 1779, though a senior, Joseph Stevens Buckminster, was considered "highly worthy of admission," he was unfortunately excluded for the present by law 15th, which says, "No person shall be admitted into this Fraternity under the age of sixteen."

He was admitted the following year. Later he became distinguished as a clergyman in Boston, orator at the anniversary in September, 1809, and in 1811 the first lecturer at Harvard on Biblical criticism on the Dexter Foundation. He died the following year when only twenty-eight years of age.

The growth of the student body increased the difficulties of selecting members. In June, 1816, the secretary wrote: "The entire evening was consumed in unavailing debate, canvassing and balloting. The performances were postponed with the appointment of additional performances for another week."

Three weeks later, because no performers were prepared, fines were discussed and it was "voted that the laws which had so long slipped should immediately be enforced against delinquents." At once five couples "professed themselves as ready to enter upon their extemporaneous disquisitions." With two exceptions all "were fined in proportion to the continuance of their neglect, and required to be prepared at the next meeting on pain of similar infliction." Then Brother Crocker was "fined a dollar for neglect of duty as warning sergeant, and Br. Bailey six cents and a quarter for contumely."

At that meeting the members succeeded in selecting candidates.

The minutes disclose that, following an initiation on July 11: "All

exercises and fines were terminated on consideration of the arrival of that period when the senior members were to take their leave and transmit the immediate management of the Society into the hands of a succeeding class."

The members then turned to arrangements for the approaching anniversary. The Marshal of the Day, William H. Gardiner, was poet at the anniversary of 1818 and orator in 1834. On the committee of arrangement were George Bancroft, later historian, Secretary of the Navy, and Minister to Great Britain, Russia, and Germany; and Caleb Cushing, poet in 1819, orator in 1839, a justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, a member of Congress and later Attorney-General of the United States.

Of the third member, then chosen recording secretary, this was entered upon the record by a successor, John Fessenden:

"The amiable and distinguished Secretary for 1817, Francis W. Winthrop, died at Savannah, Georgia, 1819. It is understood that he had preserved detached notices of the meetings of the Society which unfortunately were never recorded, and are now in all probability lost. A faithful list of admitted members in his class is, however, preserved in the Phi Beta Kappa catalogue. The reader is to be informed that this Book of Records did not come into the hands of the Secretary of 1818 until some time after the immediate connection of his classmates with the Phi Beta Kappa Society had expired, and as the transactions of the Society during this period were not committed to paper, only an imperfect account can be given of them from memory.

"It may be said that the duties of the immediate members were but partially understood, and that little pains was endured on the part of their predecessors to impress on them responsibility for them, and that the literary exercises so scruplously required, and so creditably exhibited by their fathers, were altogether neglected."

After stating that the recording secretary for the previous year had died, he remarked:

"I now hasten to conclude my imperfect sketch of the fading events, which are those subjects, however faintly they may be traced on memory's pages, which are still sufficient to excite feelings which it would be happy to forget. A mere record, 'the sad defections and backslidings of a perverse generation.' There were but few who condescended to attend the most necessary meetings, and some who did not attend at all. If that were the whole of their offense, justice, however, demands that it should be said of the Sergeant [1818] that he was strictly punctual and faithful in discharging the duties of his office, and being one of the committee on whom was imposed the thankless task of republishing the Phi Beta Kappa catalogue, his exertions were as unwearied as their treatment was un-

merited; for having returned to Cambridge from home only a few days previous to Commencement, he accomplished the work without the assistance of his patriotic associates, who had been residing here for weeks, and for his services, received of the Society not so much as an acknowledgement of their acceptance."

After 1818 little attention was given to the early practices of the Society. Fessenden's successor wrote that literary exercises had been dispensed with and that this "may be traced in great measure to the late surprising multiplication of lectures and so forth." He commends himself for "procuring this book, which has been more than two years in Boston." The hiatus between Gardiner and Fessenden may never be supplied.

Difficulties in "selecting eight gentlemen from the class to fill their ranks" did not at once disappear, for at one meeting they "failed completely after a long contest." But later attempts succeeded, and the quota was filled each year.

A report from the treasurer was regularly presented, but it was not until 1794 that a book was purchased to contain the financial transactions. Seth Bemis initiated this reform. His report for the year was in English currency, the debtor account being entered on page 2, and the creditor account on page 3:

Dr. the Treasurer of the Φ B K Society

1794	£	S	d			
For two blank books		9	3			
For taste [ribbon]		7	8			
For paper			5			
For 11 medals	3	6				
For Book Case	6					
For painting Do.	1					
For "postage of letters"		3	10			
				11	7	2

In account with Seth Bemis Cr.

1794	£	S	d			
Cash from former Treasurer		9	10			
For 13 medals at 6s	3	18				
For 10 Entrance Fees	3					
From one fine (library)		6				
Cash for Society's (library) Chest		7				
Taxes from 14 brothers at 3s	2	2				
from 3 brothers @		8	9			
				10	11	7

The deficit arose from the purchase of a bookcase which, including painting, cost six pounds and thirteen shillings, much more than was received for the chest. Receipts for entrance fees and medals were entered, and also taxes in support of the new library. Only one fine is noted.

An examination of these accounts reveals interesting details. "Entrance fees," raised before 1800 to $1.50, were later termed "admission money." Expenditures were for books, for paper to cover them, and for postage at 17¢ per letter. In 1812 a bill of $3.08 was paid for binding "Polymetis," "Anatomy of Melancholy," and "Joan of Arc." The costs of anniversaries increased gradually, including tickets, "cleaning meeting house," "doorkeeping," and for "taste" [pink and blue ribbon], music, wines and cigars. Medals of heavier pattern cost $1.50 each, being made by a die, which was later purchased to reduce the cost. As a result they remained uniform in appearance, except for the name of the owner engraved under the monogram S P.

The treasurers were not all equally careful, for John Jones wrote in 1809:

"The Treasurers for the year of 1807–1808 deserve much blame for not keeping their accounts in this book. Had they done their duty the hiatus in the accounts, which is manifest by referring to the next page, would have been avoided. Brother Nat Appleton Haven appears to have set an example of negligence, highly blameworthy, leaving an unsettled account by which it appears that a large balance is due the treasury; how this balance was appropriated we know not. Samuel Abbot, it appears by the records, was treasurer for 1807 and Francis C. Gray was chosen treaurer in 1808.

"Monies received	$26.22
" expended	5.37
	$20.85"

The undergraduate society was able to met its obligations and was pleased if the treasurer could pass on to his successor a small balance. The Alpha at Harvard has more complete records than either of the other branches. At Yale and at Dartmouth payments were apparently so regular that no effort was made to preserve the records.

Naturally the Φ B K suffered the loss of immediate members by death. In 1796, at Harvard, the death of Isaac Wellington, of the class of 1797, became an occasion for a meeting to which "Brothers in town" and friends of the deceased were invited. His classmates, Horace Binney and William M. Richardson, were chosen orator and poet and the treasurer was in-

structed to furnish "black and white taste to hang our medals." The meeting held in Brother Hurd's room, delayed until after the winter vacation, was well attended, and the thanks of the Society were voted "to Brothers Binney and Richardson for their performances." Copies were requested to be lodged in the archives of the Society.

Binney was a native of Philadelphia, and later attained distinction as a lawyer, author, statesman, and member of the United States House of Representatives. Richardson came from New Hampshire, and after two terms in the House of Representatives, became in 1816 Chief Justice of the State Superior Court of New Hampshire, and rendered the decision in the important Dartmouth College case.

Usually the Alpha confined its attention to its own affairs. One exception is interesting, but not clear to us of a later day. At the anniversary meeting in 1798, it was voted at Harvard: "That a respectful address be forwarded to the President of the United States. Unanimous. Chose Brothers McKean, A. Bigelow and Bartlett a committee to draft and forward said address."

Since John Adams was an alumnus of Harvard, his fellow graduates were especially interested in his leadership. The Alien Act had been passed by Congress only three weeks before this meeting, and the news had come that four days earlier Adams had signed the Sedition Act. Was this vote in commendation or in adverse criticism? We have no way of knowing.

On October 4, 1785, a committee was appointed to form a plan for a private library. Eight weeks later the plan submitted by the committee was adopted, "a tax of 5s on each member" was levied and a committee appointed to purchase the library. With less than twenty active members, the purchases could not be large, but the venture proved an outstanding activity for the Harvard Society. The collection grew by yearly purchases and by gifts from members and from classes before their graduation.

A list of the titles includes "The Life of Col. Gardiner," "The British Album," "Life and Travels of John Howard LL.D.," "Campbell's Philosophy and Rhetoric," "Neckar on Religion," "Chapman's Tract on Government," "Aiken's Letters," "Milton's Works," and Spence's "Polymetis."

A Society library was found necessary only at Harvard, since at Yale and Dartmouth the literary societies were supplying the need. For many years one member was both treasurer and librarian and considered it his duty to occupy his predecessor's room or to move the books to another room.

"Laws for the Regulation of the Library" were adopted at the anniversary meeting on June 20, 1797. These provided for "a fair and regular

catalogue, the recording of the dates when books were borrowed and returned, not more than two being taken at one time." No borrower should "lend a book or let it go from his personal custody, under penalty of 25 cents." If a book was retained more than eight weeks, or three weeks if it were in demand, the fine was "three cents for each day's neglect." Law 9 provided for the annual appointment of a committee "to inspect the library and report the state of it to the Society." This was to include books damaged or lost during the year, for which the librarian was to be held responsible.

Interest in the library varied from time to time. In 1816 it was reported "in a state of alarming diminution." The committee stated that its decrease was "owing . . . to the abuse of the privilege allowed honorary members from a distance of taking books home." This privilege, it was suggested, should be restricted or annulled. It was proposed "to cause some strange or indelible mark to be engraved on the books now in the library," and to require honorary members to sign a receipt before taking books from the library. Relabeling the books was authorized, but no way was found to increase the fund for new purchases. The library was continued nearly forty years longer—after 1834 in room 35 in Holworthy Hall, of which the College gave the librarian free use in compensation for his services.

Applications for Charters Denied

Shortly after the Dartmouth charter was granted, an application came from Rhode Island College at Providence, presented by Abel Flint and Asher Robbins, members of the Alpha at Yale.

Rhode Island College, which became Brown University in 1804, had its beginning when the Baptists of several colonies chose Rhode Island as the place for a college. In 1764 a charter was granted by the General Assembly of the Colony. The following year the Rev. James Manning, a graduate of the College of New Jersey, then minister of the Baptist Church at Warren, Rhode Island, was chosen president and "Professor of Languages and other Branches of Learning." At the first graduation on September 7, 1769, at Warren, seven A.B. degrees and twenty honorary A.M. degrees were conferred. "The President and all the Candidates were dressed in American Manufactures."

During the following winter Providence was selected as a location, and the College was moved there in May, 1770. Here President Manning continued to direct the work of the College with much success until the outbreak of the War. There, from December, 1776, until May, 1782, the "college edifice" was successively occupied as "Barracks and a Hospital for

American troops," and "for a Hospital for the troops of his most Christian Majesty [Louis XVI]," and was much damaged in consequence.

In 1783 Asher Robbins and in 1786 Abel Flint became tutors and in 1790 made application for a Phi Beta Kappa charter, Flint acting as correspondent. The application is first mentioned in the minutes of the anniversary meeting at Cambridge on September 7, 1789, when it was voted, "That in consequence of an application of Mr. Flint for permission to introduce this Society at Providence College, a committee be chosen to consider of the application and to make their report at the next anniversary meeting."

Four of those chosen were young tutors, and the fifth, Samuel Shapleigh, had received his degree at the recent commencement.

This application came six months later before the Alpha of Connecticut and a committee, with President Simeon Baldwin as chairman, was appointed "to consider the application of Mr. Flint, a Brother of the Society now resident at Providence, requesting a charter for establishing a Branch of the Society at the College in Providence, and to report thereon."

Other members were Jonathan W. Edwards, a graduate student, and Barnabas Bidwell, then completing a three-year term as tutor, who had attested the charter for Dartmouth. A prompt and favorable report, made on March 8, is thus noted in the minutes:

"Resolved that, if the Alphas of Massachusetts and New Hampshire concur, a Charter be granted for establishing a Branch of the Society at the College in Providence, to be called the Alpha of Rhode Island. Also Resolved, if the three existing Alphas express to each other their concurrence in this Grant, that then, whenever application shall be made to either Alpha by any Student of Providence College recommended by Messrs. Robbins and Flint or either of them the said student may be initiated and a charter reciting the concurring votes of the other Alphas be executed and delivered to him, together with the Laws, and Secrets of the Society. And the President is requested to communicate this resolve to the other Branches by the first proper opportunity."

"Voted: That this Society concur with the Alpha of Massachusetts."

Their confidence that the other Alphas would approve led to a premature invitation to students from Providence, such as had been extended to Aaron Kinsman of Dartmouth. At the anniversary meeting the following September 9 Messrs. John Clark Nightingale and Moses Brown, graduates of Rhode Island College, were elected to membership in the Society.

At the commencement at Rhode Island College, September 1, Moses Brown, Jr., had been one of thirteen in a class of twenty-two to have a

part in commencement exercises at which the degree of LL.D. was conferred on George Washington. President Washington had visited the city two weeks before with Thomas Jefferson and others, in recognition of Rhode Island's ratification of the Federal Constitution. After commencement, Brown and Nightingale went to New Haven, expecting membership in the Society there, and a Phi Beta Kappa charter for their own College. Membership was accorded them but not the coveted charter.

The situation was complicated, for these men were told finally that a charter could not be granted, since both the Dartmouth and Harvard Societies were opposed. This attitude is stated in the minutes thus:

"The president delivered to the Society a letter from the Alpha of Massachusetts on the subject of granting a Charter for the establishment of a Branch of this Society at Providence, in which they state their reasons for refusing to extend this institution to that University."

Action at Cambridge had been taken on September 1, the date of the commencement at Providence. The letter referred to, written the following day by the vice-president, Thaddeus Mason Harris, and addressed to President Simeon Baldwin, gives the names of the committee, and explains in part why they were "so unhappy as to differ from our Brothers at Connecticut." Inclosed was a long letter "from Brother Thompson one of the tutors of this College who was appointed by the Society for the purpose of writing to you on this occasion."

The commitee had reported, "that they thought it inexpedient to transmit a charter to that College as it would lessen the dignity of the Society at large and multiply similar applications from Literary Institutions of still less importance.

"The government of Providence College had admitted into the Sophomore class, one of our students in the middle of the Freshman year who was admitted into our Freshman class with difficulty, and when he went away was by no means equal to many of his classmates. . . . The same government has been known to admit a person who was rusticated at this College to a Bachelor's Degree before the class in this College to which he belonged was graduated here."

The committee thought therefore that, "it would be a species of treachery to the Government of their own College, and that of Yale and Dartmouth should they transmit a charter to the students of Providence College and thereby acknowledge their equality to students of the same standing in the Colleges where our Fraternity is already established. . . . Had we concluded otherwise, we think a door would have been opened for applications, similar to the Providence application, from Literary Institutions of still less importance, . . . and of the least importance."

Concerning "the small number of students at Providence College"

Thompson wrote: "We thought that. . . many might be admitted to our Fraternity merely to make its numbers respectable, without sufficient regard being had to their literary merit."

Respecting a third consideration, he added, "We endeavored to remember the dignity of the Society at large, and do nothing which might injure it. The subject was delicate. It required great attention. On one side we dreaded lest we should act with illiberality, and on the other lest we should betray a Fraternal interest. . . . Should those of the students at Harvard, Yale or Dartmouth, whose literary merit does not entitle them to admission amongst us, see a branch of the Φ B K established at Providence, and at the same time justly feel their equality and perhaps superiority in literary merit to the generality of students at Providence of the same standing, the Society would in our opinion lose very much of its influence in promoting emulation, and have a direct tendency to breed ill will and animosity.

"We most heartily wish to improve every opportunity to promote the increase of literature, benevolence and friendship. And we would gladly take every measure to encourage the young gentlemen at Providence College, and at all the literary institutions in the pursuit of every thing great, good and excellent, provided we should not retard rather than accelerate the progress of knowledge and virtue."

For these reasons the Alpha decided, "from motives of delicacy, to make no return to the present application from Providence." It is not known when or how the denial of the petition for a charter became known in Providence. The Federal Adelphi certainly was formed as a "Rhode Island institution" to be to Brown what Phi Beta Kappa was to Harvard; but it was not organized until November, 1797, seven years after the rebuff of September, 1790. It may or may not be a coincidence that in September, 1797, the Yale chapter brought up the question of a chapter for Brown, along with Princeton and Williams.

The brethren at Harvard were unquestionably concerned for the dignity of the Society, because another application had come before their meeting in 1790 from a group of members in Georgia, "praying that the charter and Constitution of this Society might be transmitted to them at Augusta." This communication, not unlike the one received in 1786 from Albany, New York, was referred to the committee then reporting on the application from Providence. It came from a group of members not then connected with any institution of learning: Abiel Holmes and Augustus Baldwin, both of Yale; Elihu Palmer of Dartmouth, and Charles Jackson of Harvard. They had met in Atlanta at Baldwin's home. Since their application was from a place without recognized standing, the committee did not make a report. No record exists at Dartmouth of these requests for

charters, though the Yale society had directed its officers to report its action to both Alphas, and the Thompson letter refers to both.

An application for a charter for Williams College (which has not survived) was presented when the College was only four years old. Begun as an Academy and Free School at Williamstown, Massachusetts, in 1791, it became Williams College in 1793.

Desire for a charter was probably fostered by early tutors at the College, eight of whom were Yale graduates and members of the Alpha—Noah Linsley, Daniel Dunbar, Dan Huntington, Jeremiah Day, Henry Davis, Charles Denison, Warren Dutton and Thomas Day. In addition, Elijah Dunbar, a Harvard Phi Beta Kappa, had been tutor from 1794 to 1796.

Minutes of the commencement meeting at Yale on September 14, 1797, contain the first reference to further expansion: "Voted that the corresponding Secretary be directed to correspond with other Alphas upon the policy of extending this Society to Princeton, Rhode Island and Williams Colleges."

That an application had been received appears from two letters, one from Dartmouth and one from Harvard. The Yale secretary, Ebenezer Grant Marsh, wrote that sentiment at Yale was in favor of expansion, to include Rhode Island College, on account of its recent application, and to New Jersey College [Princeton] from which had come "a partial request of the same kind." Williams was included, since it was "flourishing and bids fair to be a very useful Institution." Therefore "to extend the Society to each of these Colleges . . . would add much to the respectability and influence of the Society, and would operate very advantageously for those Institutions." The letter concluded: "We therefore, wish for the opinion of your Society on the subject. . . . It is well known that the reputation of our Society is considerably elevated in the opinion of the Literary World. It should be our object to embrace everything that will increase this respectability, and shun with horror and disdain every attempt of a contrary nature."

The Dartmouth Society, at a meeting on October 4, "resolved that it is the opinion of the New Hampshire [Alpha] that this Society may, with the concurrence of the several branches, be extended to Rhode Island, Princeton, and Williams Colleges upon their petitioning for a charter."

The corresponding secretary, William Woodward, conveying this opinion to the brethren at Yale and Harvard, began: "You have sufficient reason to charge us with neglect, and we must with mortification plead guilty to the charge"; and continued "That it would be for the interest

of the Society to extend the Institution to Princeton, Rhode Island and Williams Colleges provided regular applications be made for that purpose and provided also it be committed to the hands of those who are trusty and who would be faithful."

The letter concludes, "We apprehend that much will depend on its first establishment and we are anxious, should anything further be done, that it be under the direction at those colleges of characters interested in the welfare and respectability of the Society.

"It is our opinion that it would not be consistent for us to grant a Charter to Williams College and continue to refuse Rhode Island. The objections which existed some years since in regard to Rhode Island, it is thought are not so weighty now. That Institution is supposed to be growing into respectability, and considering the age of Williams College we think that we ought to grant the request from Rhode Island if the Society be any further extended."

He concluded the communication by suggesting "the propriety of laying them under some restrictions by way of condition . . . How far it may be prudent to extend the restrictions we submit to your consideration."

The subject was discussed at Yale on December 5, 1797. No charter was voted, but a committee was subsequently appointed to report at the next anniversary. On its report a year later the Society voted for Williams, but not for the other colleges. The memorandum of Secretary Murdock incorrectly states that the reasons might "be seen in the report among the archives."

Meanwhile, at its annual meeting on June 17, 1798, the Alpha at Harvard referred the question to a committee. In December Samuel Shapleigh, corresponding secretary, wrote to Secretary Marsh at Yale that the only new subject "agitated" at their meeting was a request from Williamstown College for a charter. They desired to know the sentiments of the "Brethren at New Haven . . . if they should think it deserving their consideration."

It would seem that Harvard should have been interested in this request from Williams College because by their charter they had been "invested with the privileges of the meeting Αλφα of Virginia in granting Charters for the establishment of other meetings anywhere within your State of Massachusetts Bay." Evidently no one then at Harvard or at Yale recalled this privilege and it was not noted for nearly half a century, until 1845.

Yale's interest in Williams may be explained by the fact that its president was a graduate of Yale, and three graduates, former tutors at Williams, were tutors at Yale, Huntington, Day and Davis.

However, the conservative attitude at Harvard proved an effectual veto, and no charters were granted. The question of expansion was not raised again until 1803, when an application was received for a charter for a branch at Union College, Schenectady, New York.[1] An application was presented in 1818 from South Carolina College at Columbia. No record was preserved at the College, nor was it remembered at Harvard until 1923, when papers of Charles Folsom, class of 1813, corresponding secretary of the Alpha from 1823 to 1833, were given to the Harvard College Library. Among them were the application and four letters, one written by Abraham Nott, a lawyer of Columbia, one by Jonathan Maxcy, president of the College but not a member of the Society, one by John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State, and one by John C. Calhoun, the Secretary of War. The application, dated May 12, 1818, was signed by five young men, "selected by a respectable portion of the students of this Institution, to request the establishment of a branch of the Phi Beta Kappa Society."

A few paragraphs follow:

"Considering the antiquity and celebrity of that Society we must lament that this College has not hitherto enjoyed its advantages. . . . Your association by its extent and importance will vastly contribute towards fashioning our national character, by dissipating the sectional jealousies which now exist.

"Though the character sustained by the Southern colleges has not been so favourable as we could wish; yet we trust that the South Carolina College forms, and is still destined to form, an honourable exception. . . .

"From the unexampled liberality of the legislature in providing for the excellence and elegance of our building—their appropriations for its future support—the enjoyment of an extensive apparatus and library, and the distinguished abilities of the Faculty, we most reasonably anticipate that our Institution will ere long assume a distinguished station among the seats of Science."

President Maxcy wrote "that a regular course of instruction similar to that pursued in the Northern colleges is supported by a President, four Professors, and two Teachers; and a strict course of discipline maintained through the classes."

Abraham Nott wrote:

"Having been a member of that Society when a member of Yale College, I still feel a desire to extend the sphere of its usefulness. And as one of the Trustees of this College I feel an equal desire to gratify these young gentlemen in so laudable an undertaking."

[1] Knowledge of this application comes from two letters by Sidney Willard of Harvard.

The application concludes:

"With bosoms glowing with the hopes of success, we feel sanguine in the prospect of a speedy and favorable reply.

Roebet Elfe
Josiah Kilpatrick
Tho. H. Taylor
Francis H. Wardlaw
Joseph N. Whitner
Committee"

The application and these letters were forwarded to John C. Calhoun at the War Department, who on May 25, 1818, wrote to John Quincy Adams of the State Department:

"I do myself the honor to transmit to you the application of a number of respectable young gentlemen of the College of South Carolina, to obtain a branch of the Phi Beta Kappa Society in that Institution. In becoming the medium of their application, I cheerfully bear testimony, at their request, to the respectability and flourishing condition of the Institution of which they are members. The College of South Carolina is among the most liberally endowed in the United States; and is now, so far as my information extends, decidedly the most flourishing in the Southern and Western section of our Country."

On the same date Adams wrote to "Samuel Gilman, Corresponding and Recording Secretary of the ΦBK, Harvard University, Cambridge.

"The letters and papers herewith enclosed, have been delivered to me by Mr. Calhoun, the Secretary of War, who is a graduate of Yale College, and a member of the Society. The characters of the persons by whom the application from the students at the College of South Carolina, for the establishment of a Branch of the Society there, is recommended are of the highest respectability; and I beg leave in requesting you to submit these papers to the early consideration of the Society to add my recommendation, that this bond of social and literary fraternity, may according to the request of the Committee of the Students at that Institution, be extended to them."

Gilman wrote on July 11 to the Alphas at Yale and Dartmouth:

"An application has been made by certain students of the South Carolina College in Columbia (S. C.) through the medium of the Hon. John Quincy Adams, to the branch of the Phi Beta Kappa Society in this place, containing a petition for a new branch of the Society to be established in that College. Since the acquiescence of every existing branch of the Society is necessary to the accomplishment of such a measure, I hereby communicate the information of their petition to you,

that it may be laid before the next general meeting of the Society in your College. The petition is accompanied by certificates from the President Maxcy of the College and from others, testifying to the respectable and scholarlike characters of the petitioners, and also honorable testimonies in favour of the advance rank of that College among the other Institutions of the Union."

The application was received at Harvard, though, in the absence of the records, we do not know what action was taken. At Dartmouth it was "Resolved, that this Society is not in possession of such information as would justify them at the present time in granting the prayer of the petitioners." And at Yale, "After hearing a petition from the Corporation of the College at Columbia, S. C., praying for an establishment of a branch of the Phi Beta Kappa at that place, the Society passed the following vote: 'That, Chauncey A. Goodrich, Samuel J. Hitchcock and Isaac M. Ely be a committee to consider the expediency of the measure and also to consider the applications that have hitherto been made from other Colleges and reported thereon.' "

Their report has not been preserved. The charter was not granted.

Alumni and Honorary Members

Phi Beta Kappa began as a college society limited to student membership. The removal of this restriction in 1778 to make possible the election of Elisha Parmele opened the way to a broader basis of membership. The code passed on to New England contained this statement: "No gentlemen shall be initiated into this Society under the age of sixteen, nor then except by the unanimous concurrence of all the members by ballot."

In delivering the charters, Parmele did not restrict membership to undergraduates, for at a meeting for organization at Yale certain "bachelors, seniors and juniors" were admitted. Likewise during the first year at Harvard some bachelors, holding positions at the College, became members. When the Dartmouth Society was organized a similar method was followed, although no special law was adopted.

A precedent was set in 1790, when two recent graduates of Rhode Island College were initiated at Yale. They returned to Providence without a charter; hence they remained unclassified members of the Alpha at Yale. But as Moses Brown died within a year and John C. Nightingale removed to Georgia and died there before the first catalogue was printed, this irregularity was not noted. The only similar instance was the reception at Dartmouth in 1791 of Nightingale's classmate, Jeremiah B. Howell, then at Hanover in quest of a charter for Rhode

Island College. In catalogues he was listed as a member of the class of 1791. In later catalogues, from 1844 on, he was named an honorary member. His election to the United States Senate brought to public notice the fact that he was a graduate of Brown and not of Dartmouth.

One other graduate of Rhode Island College, Thomas M. Clark, was elected in 1792, though one would gather from the minutes that he was a Dartmouth man. He received his first degree at Providence, went at once to Yale where an honorary A.B. was given him, and then to Hanover, in quest of a Phi Beta Kappa charter, and was elected member of Phi Beta Kappa. In early catalogues he was listed as "senior 1792." These four elections, two at Yale and two at Dartmouth, were similar to the election at Harvard of Aaron Kinsman of Dartmouth, except that the privilege of bearing a charter to Rhode Island was denied.

A month before its fourth anniversary in 1791, the Dartmouth Society initiated "John Saunders Junior, A. M." Saunders had graduated at Harvard in 1781, and was at Hanover to receive an honorary A.M. at the approaching commencement.

At the anniversary meeting a year later, it was "voted that Rev. David McClure be admitted to this Society," and he and two graduates previously elected, Caleb Bingham and Elisha Ticknor, were initiated. These first initiations at an anniversary meeting set a precedent. David McClure, Yale 1769, was an early associate of Wheelock in the Indian School at Lebanon and went to Hanover at the opening of the College. After being ordained as a minister, in 1777 he became a trustee of Dartmouth.

Thus Saunders and McClure, graduates of Harvard and Yale before the installation of Phi Beta Kappa, became the first *honorary* members, as contrasted with *alumni,* who were received at the same time with undergraduates.

By its fifth anniversary then, the Alpha at Dartmouth had set three precedents: by electing graduates who were not connected with the College; by electing graduates of other colleges; and by initiating candidates at anniversary meetings.

Three years later, on April 17, 1795, it was "voted that Titus Hutchinson be admitted," and ten days later David Everett, a senior, was elected; and both "were initiated into this Society" at the anniversary meeting. Four months later we read that "Aaron Hutchinson, Esq., George Washington Prescott, A.B. and Nicholas Emery, A.B., having given their answers in the affirmative, were initiated into the Society."

Prescott and Emery had received their degrees only a few hours before and had been listed as initiated before their graduation. Titus

Hutchinson, who had graduated at Princeton in 1794, became a Justice of the Superior Court and a trustee of the University of Vermont. Aaron Hutchinson lived at Lebanon near Hanover. They were in reality honorary members. (By an error these two, and also the Rev. David McClure, were in all early catalogues listed as elected during the Alpha's first year, 1787.) Four years later two other Harvard graduates were elected: one, Lyman Spaulding, declined membership; but Dr. Nathan Smith, who had come to Dartmouth in 1797 as professor of anatomy and surgery and of the practice of medicine accepted.

Two years later the Alpha broke a custom when at the anniversary meeting on August 25, 1801, it voted to extend "the approbation of the Society . . . to Rev. Mr. Alexander of Virginia," for the candidate was not a college graduate. After the public exercises, and at a meeting called for six o'clock on the following morning, the Society "admitted to its secrets the Rev. Mr. Alexander of Virginia and Rev. Mr. Perkins of Connecticut." Alexander had studied at Washington College, now Washington and Lee University, and, when only nineteen, had been licensed as a Presbyterian preacher. After four years as President of Hampden-Sydney, a young struggling Virginia college, he was accorded honorary membership while on a journey through New England. He afterwards served with distinction as President and professor of theology and church government at Princeton Theological Seminary from 1812 until his death in 1851.

During the succeeding half century the Alpha at Dartmouth admitted thirty-five as honorary members, nearly all graduates of well-established colleges. During the same period an average of one alumnus a year was admitted. Thus at Dartmouth the practice was begun of electing alumni and others to honorary membership.

When it was learned at Yale that one of its graduates had been welcomed into Phi Beta Kappa membership at Dartmouth, the propriety of honorary elections was questioned, and at the annual meeting on September 10, 1785, "the President was requested to commence a correspondence with the other branches of the Society on the subject of establishing some general rule for admitting persons who have never been members of any University where this Society is established, and that the results of the same be reported at the next anniversary."

If this correspondence continued, there is no record of it. Five years later a young graduate, William Bristol, proposed that the Society admit honorary members, and was made chairman of a committee to which the subject was referred. At the anniversary meeting three months later it was

"Resolved: That a fair and rational construction of the Constitution warrants the admission of honorary members.

"Resolved: That no person shall be admitted who has not received a degree at some University."

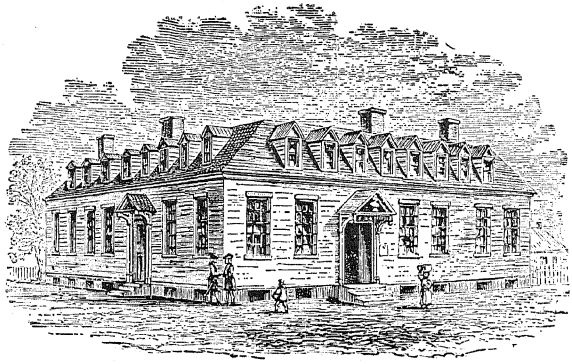
The minutes do not indicate a definition of honorary membership, nor give any information as to correspondence with the other Alphas on the subject.

A more decided change came in 1816, at the anniversary meeting held on December 5; one alumnus and one honorary membership were conferred, when William Tully, class of 1806, becoming well known as a physician, and William Andrews, of Middletown College, minister of the church at Danbury, Connecticut, were admitted. Thus a policy of fifteen years' standing at Dartmouth was being adopted at Yale. Before other honorary elections were made at Yale the first report from the Alpha at Union College showed that about one hundred alumni of the College and forty others had been elected to honorary membership, and that many were counted as members without having been initiated.

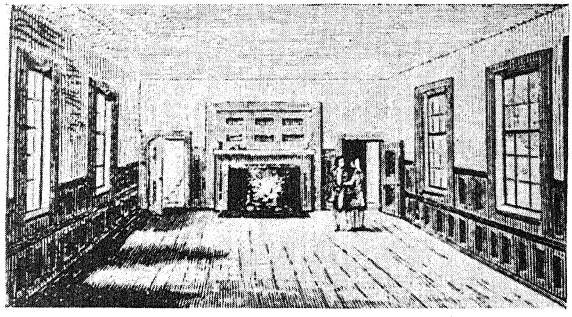
However, the subject was not again canvassed at Yale until 1822, when at the annual meeting a committee reported that from an examination of the archives they found the practice "of admitting honorary members . . . supported by a large number of precedents, and that in their opinion its cautious exercise might be useful as a reward to distinguish merit—and . . . ought not to be entirely relinquished."

From this time at anniversaries graduates and others were admitted. Though at the time of their election they were termed honorary members, a distinction was made in the catalogues from 1838 on. Graduates of Yale were listed with their classes, without indication of the date of their election, while on concluding pages a list of "Members not educated at Yale College" was printed, with the year of admission. Twenty-two honorary memberships were reported from 1816 to 1837, though the second election did not occur until 1822. Two years passed without elections, and in two other years there were three each. About an equal number of Yale graduates were admitted during this period, only a few of whom were living in New Haven.

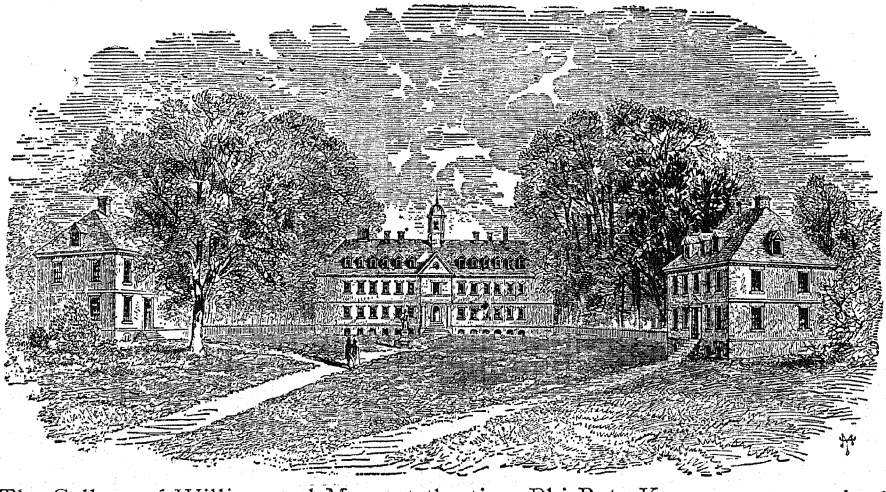
Harvard also accepted the plan, though of the discussion which led to it there is no record. The catalogue of 1848 has a list of twenty-five "Honorary Members not Alumni of Harvard College," the first chosen in 1813. On September 2, 1814, the corresponding secretary, Andrews Norton, wrote to Dartmouth that on the previous day these four had been elected: "Rev. James Freeman, D.D., who was graduated before the institution of the Society in this place. Rev. Charles Lowell of Boston, Benjamin Allen, LL.D., of Brighton, late professor at Union College, and Charles Stewart Daveis, Esq., of Portland, a graduate of Bowdoin College." Freeman and Lowell were listed with their respective classes without special designation. The others are in the honorary list. For



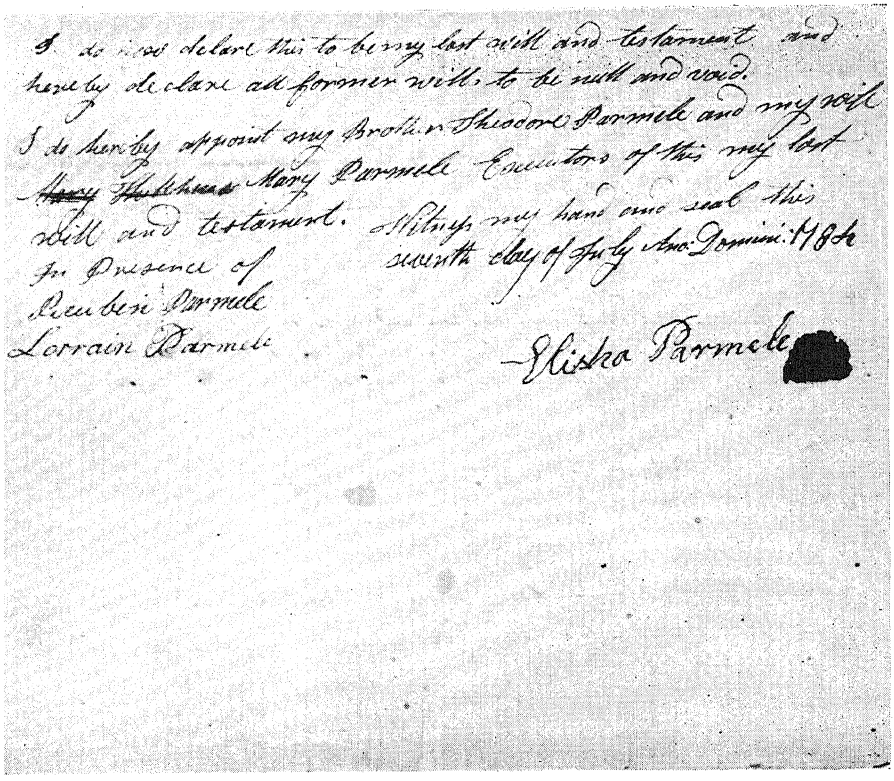
The Raleigh Tavern



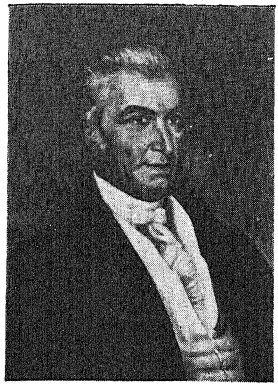
The Apollo Room



The College of William and Mary at the time Phi Beta Kappa was organized


I do now declare this to be my last will and testament and hereby declare all former wills to be null and void.
I do hereby appoint my Brother Theador Parmele and my wife ~~Mary~~ Mary Parmele Executors of this my last Will and testament. Witness my hand and seal this seventh day of July Anno Domini 1786
In Presence of
Reuben Parmele
Lorrain Parmele
Elisha Parmele

Facsimile of the concluding paragraph of the will of Elisha Parmele



Archibald Stuart



William Short



Colonel Brent



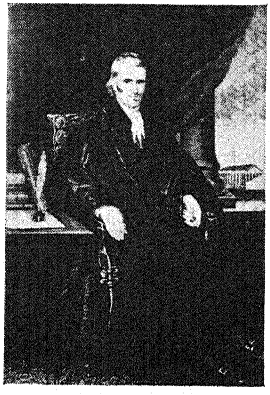
Spencer Roane



Bushrod Washington



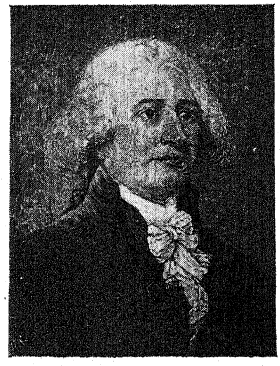
Richard B. Lee



John Marshall



Peyton Short



John Brown

Early members at William and Mary



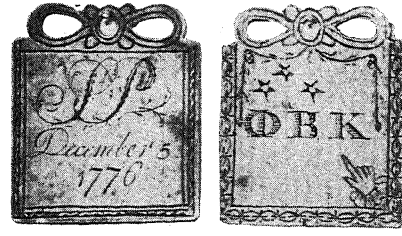
John Heath



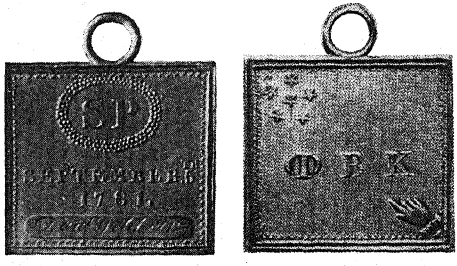
Samuel Hardy



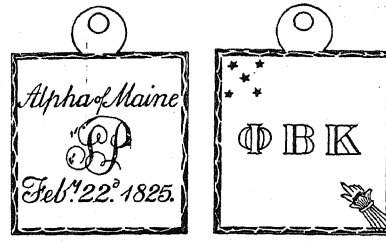
Back and front of original



Back and front of Yale

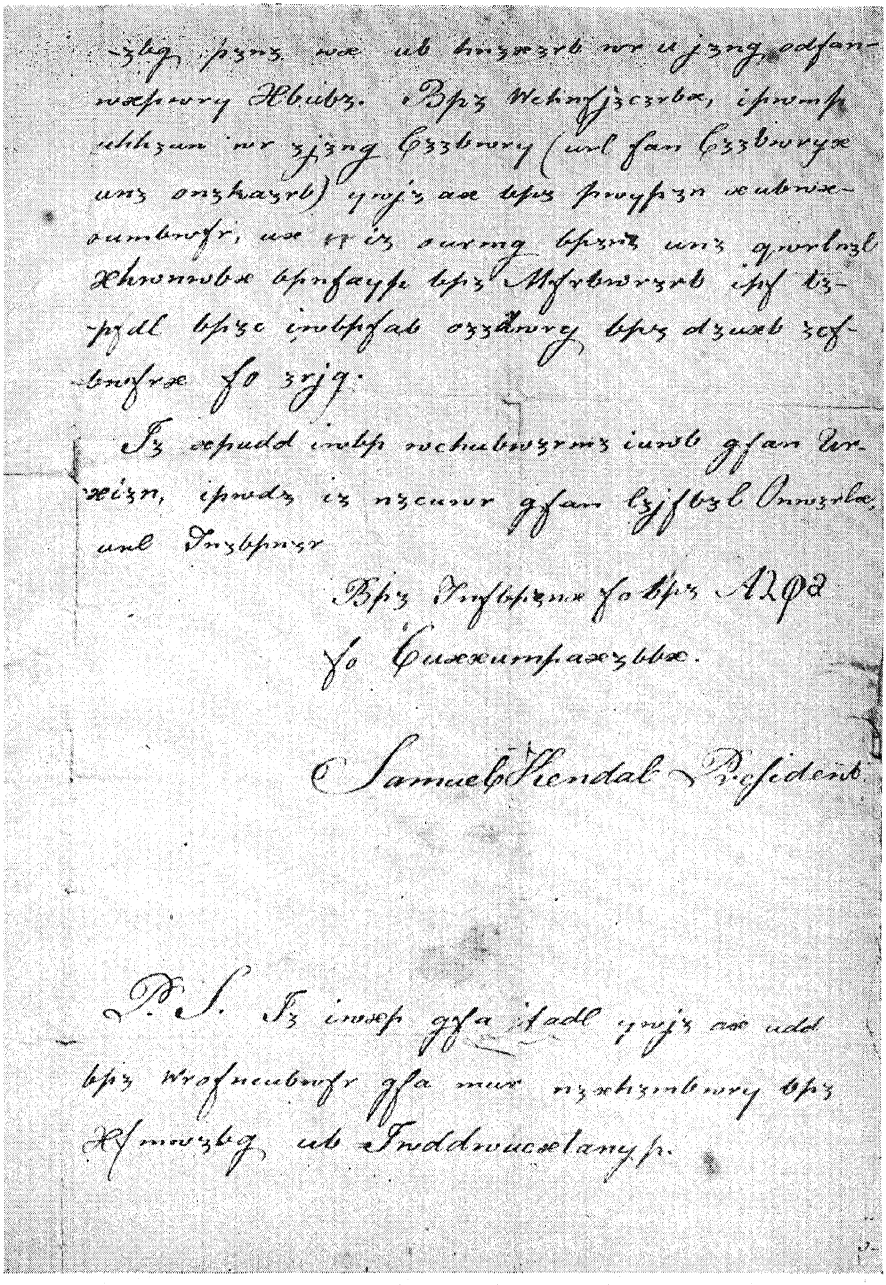


Back and front of Harvard

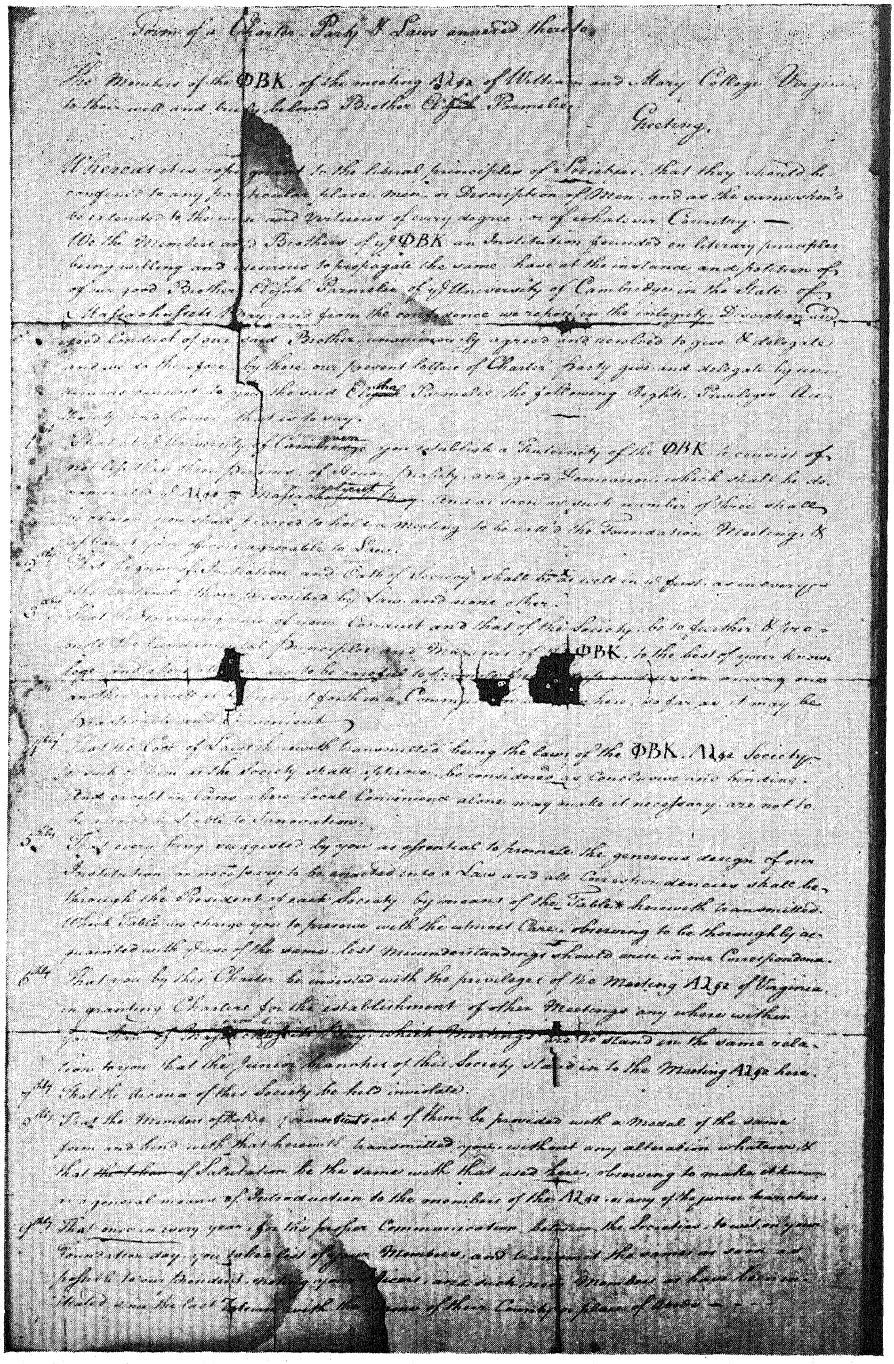


Back and front of Bowdoin

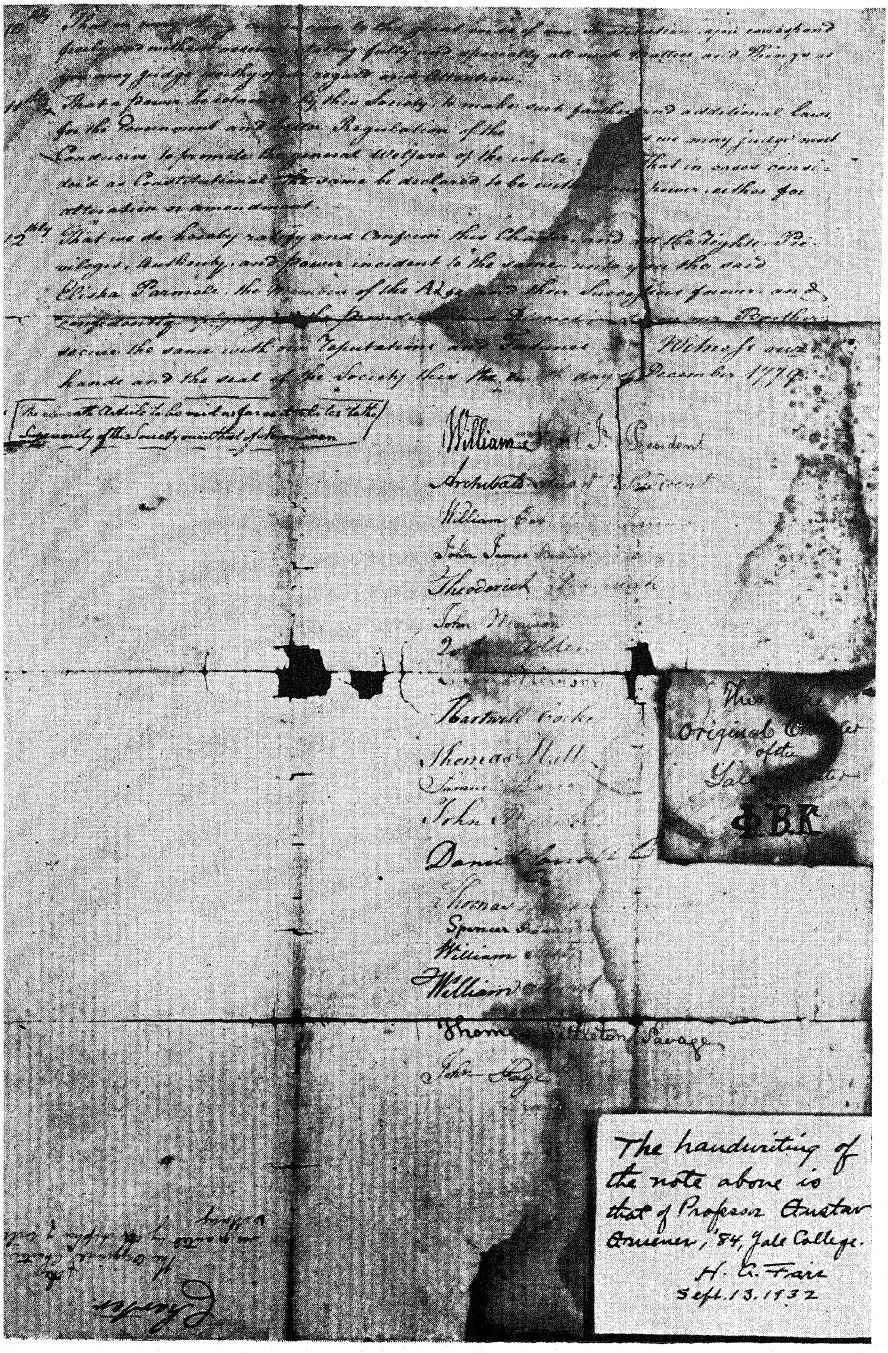
Medals



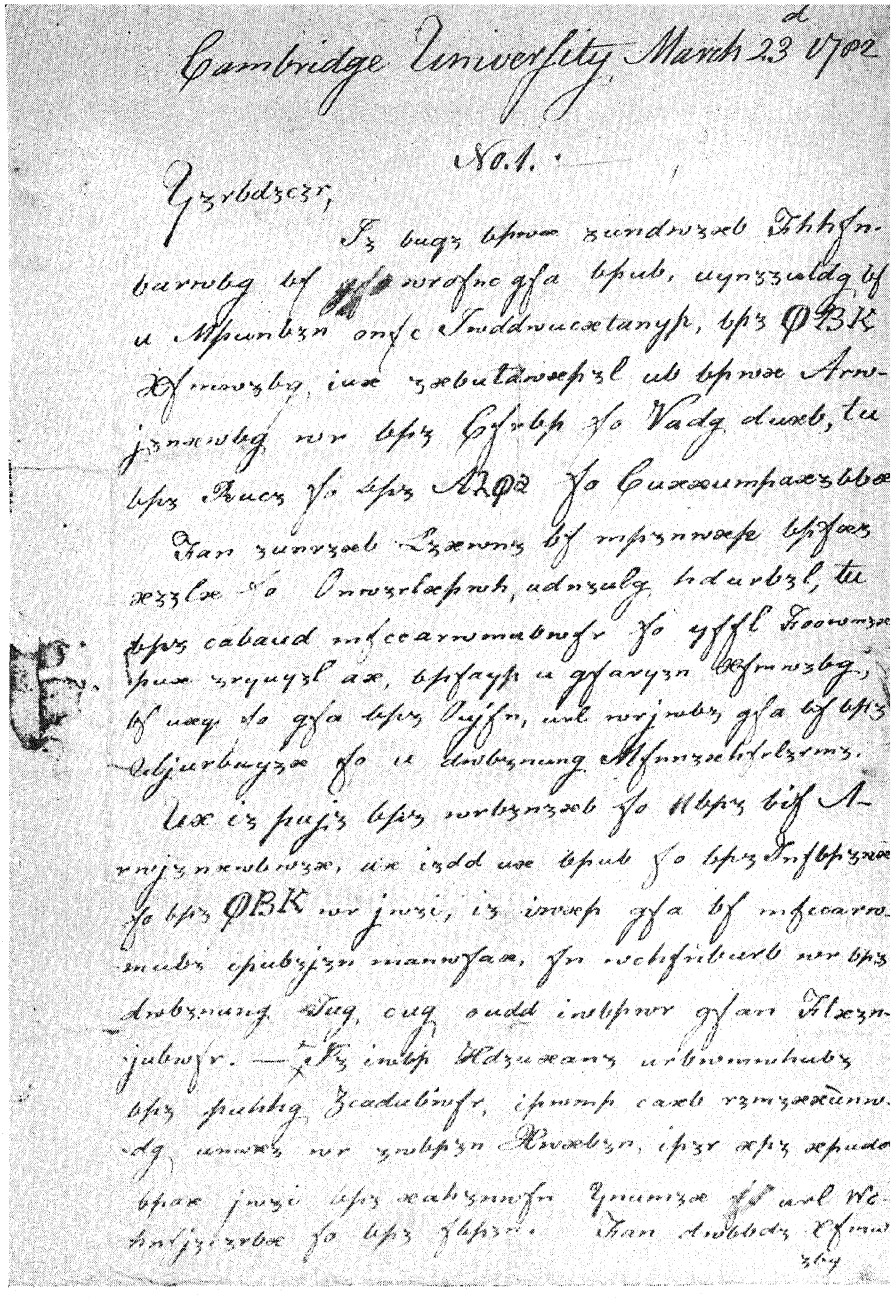
The earliest letter from the Alpha at Harvard to the Alpha at Yale



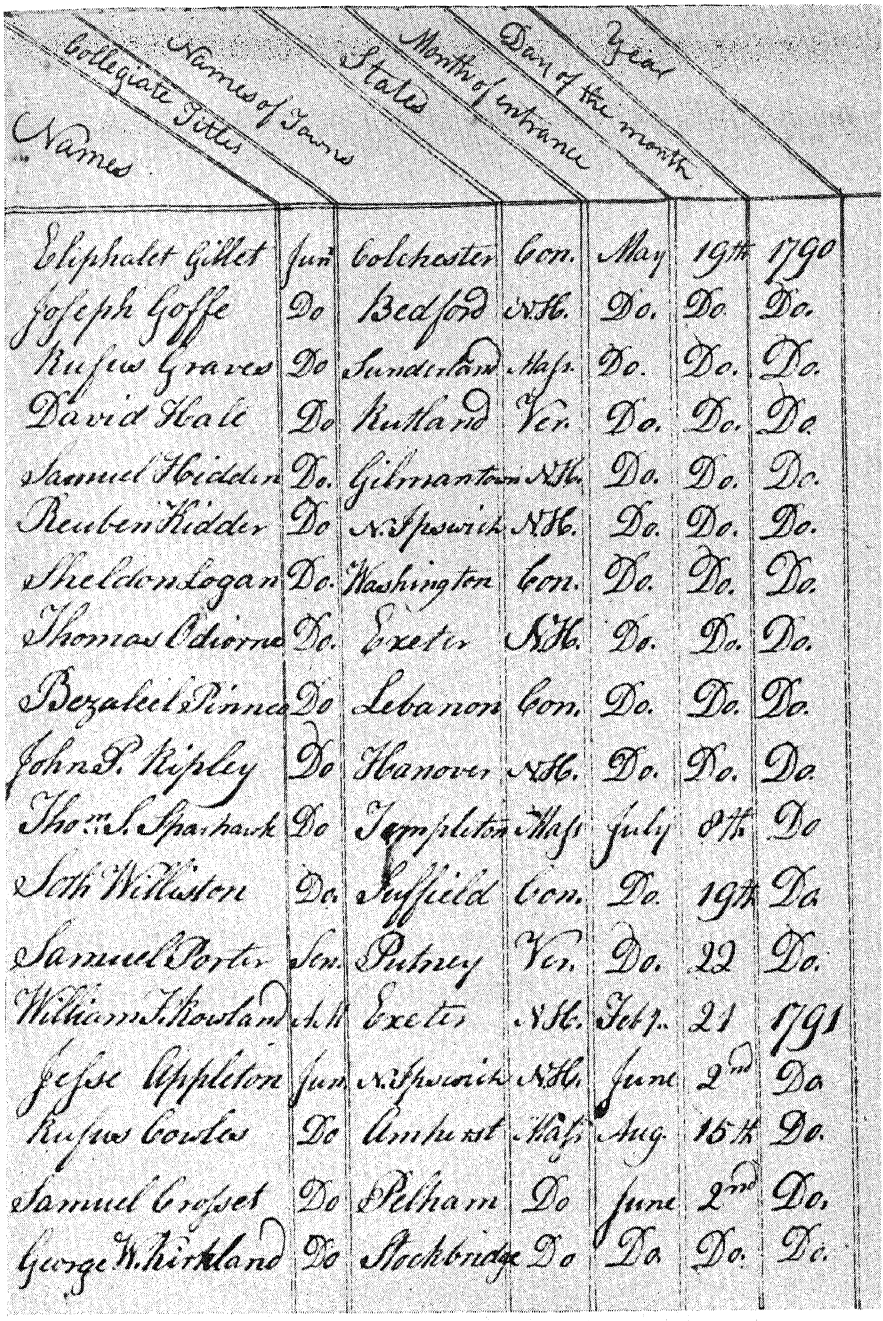
Charter of the Alpha of Connecticut dated Dec. 4, 1779



Charter of the Alpha of Connecticut dated Dec. 4, 1779



Facsimile of letter in cipher sent by the Alpha of Massachusetts to the Alpha at Yale. See page 40 for this letter deciphered



Names	Collegiate Titles	Names of Towns	States	Month of entrance	Day of the month	Year
Eliphalet Gillet	Jun.	Colchester	Con.	May	19th	1790
Joseph Goffe	Do	Bedford	N.H.	Do.	Do.	Do.
Rufus Graves	Do	Sunderland	Mass.	Do.	Do.	Do.
David Hall	Do	Rutland	Ver.	Do.	Do.	Do.
Samuel Hidden	Do.	Gilmanton	N.H.	Do.	Do.	Do.
Reuben Kidder	Do	N. Ipswich	N.H.	Do.	Do.	Do.
Sheldon Logan	Do.	Washington	Con.	Do.	Do.	Do.
Thomas Odiorne	Do.	Exeter	N.H.	Do.	Do.	Do.
Bezaleel Pinney	Do	Lebanon	Con.	Do.	Do.	Do.
John D. Ripley	Do	Hanover	N.H.	Do.	Do.	Do.
Thos. L. Sparhawk	Do	Templeton	Mass	July	8th	Do
Seth Williston	Do.	Southfield	Con.	Do.	19th	Do
Samuel Porter	Sen.	Putney	Ver.	Do.	22	Do.
William J. Rowland	A.M.	Exeter	N.H.	Sept.	21	1791
Jesse Appleton	Jun.	N. Ipswich	N.H.	June	2nd	Do
Rufus Cowles	Do	Amherst	Mass	Aug.	15th	Do.
Samuel Crafset	Do	Pelham	Do	June	2nd	Do.
George W. Kirkland	Do	Stockbridge	Do	Do.	Do.	Do.

Earliest list of members at Yale

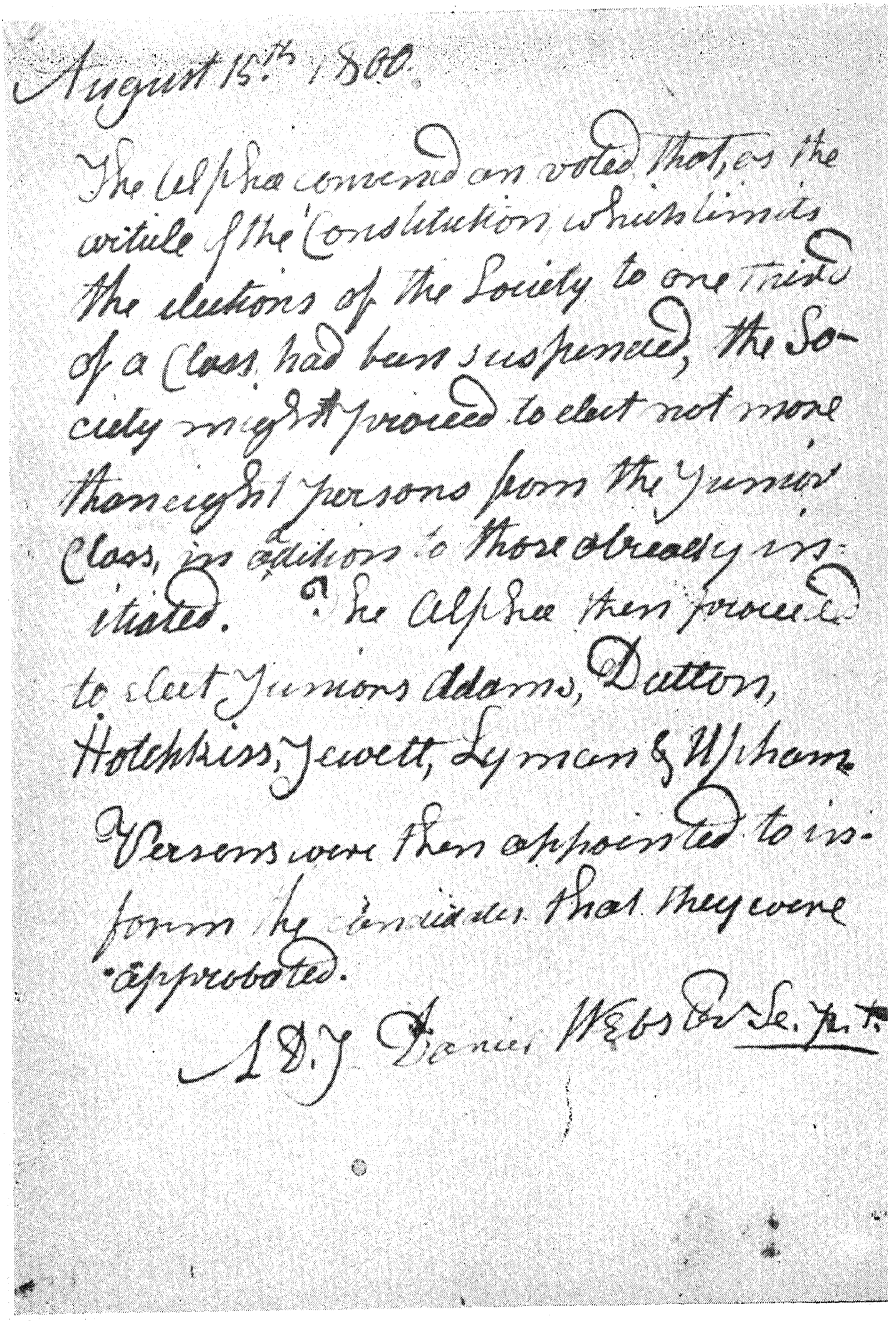
Dr The treasury of the ΦBK

1800		
June 24	To cash paid for wrapping paper	.. 25
July 3	To cash paid for 12 yd Gallown a 4d	.. 48
— 8	To cash paid for 2 pieces taste a 84 c.	1 .. 68
— 11	To cash paid for wrapping paper	.. 25
— 17	To cash paid for 53 yd taste a 4	2 .. 12
— —	To cash paid Leonard Jarvis to pay Callender for 13 Medals as his receipt	43 ..
— —	To cash paid Secretary Peirce for advertising Anniversary in Commercial Gazette	— .. 75
Sept 6	To cash paid Emerson see his receipt	15 .. 97
		$ 34 .. 50
		$ 34 .. 50

Harvard Treasurer's Report

In account with John S. Abbot Esq

1800		
June 24	By cash recd of Br Fuller for medal	1 ..
	By cash recd of Br Cummings for medal	1 ..
— 25	By cash recd of Br Kent for entrance & medal	2 .. 50
27	By cash recd of Br Cracker for entrance & medal	2 .. 50
28	By cash recd of Br Hallowell for entrance & medal	2 .. 50
30	By cash recd of Br B. Sullivan for entrance & medal	2 .. 50
	By cash recd of Br G. Sullivan for entrance & medal	2 .. 50
July 3	By cash recd of Br B. Bond for medal	1 ..
—	By cash recd of Br Buckminster for entrance	1 .. 50
7	By cash recd of Br Lawrence for medal	1 ..
	By cash recd of Br Williams for entrance & medal	2 .. 50
	By cash recd of Br Bigelow for entrance	1 .. 50
9	By cash recd of Br Bond for entrance	1 .. 50
— 17	By cash recd of Br Wells for medal	1 .. —
August 14	By cash recd of Br Lawrence for entrance	1 .. 50
— 15	By cash recd of Br Fuller for entrance	1 .. 50
— 16	By cash recd of Br Abbot for medal	1 .. —
17	By cash recd of Br Peirce for entrance & medal	2 .. 50
— 21	By cash recd of Br Bigelow for medal	1 .. —
— 29	By cash recd of Br Gorham for entrance & medal	2 .. 50
		$ 34 .. 50



August 15th 1800.

The Alpha convened and voted that, as the article of the Constitution which limits the elections of the Society to one third of a Class had been suspended, the Society might proceed to elect not more than eight persons from the Junior Class, in addition to those already initiated. The Alpha then proceeded to elect Juniors Adams, Dutton, Hotchkiss, Jewett, Lyman & Wilson. Persons were then appointed to inform the candidates that they were approbated.

Attest Daniel Webster Sec. pro tem.

Minutes of Alpha of New Hampshire

CATALOGUE

OF THE

MEMBERS

OF THE

ΦBK

SOCIETY.

ALPHA

OF

NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

HANOVER,
PRINTED BY MOSES DAVIS.
APRIL—1806.

CATALOGUE

OF THE

MEMBERS

OF THE

CONNECTICUT ALPHA

OF THE

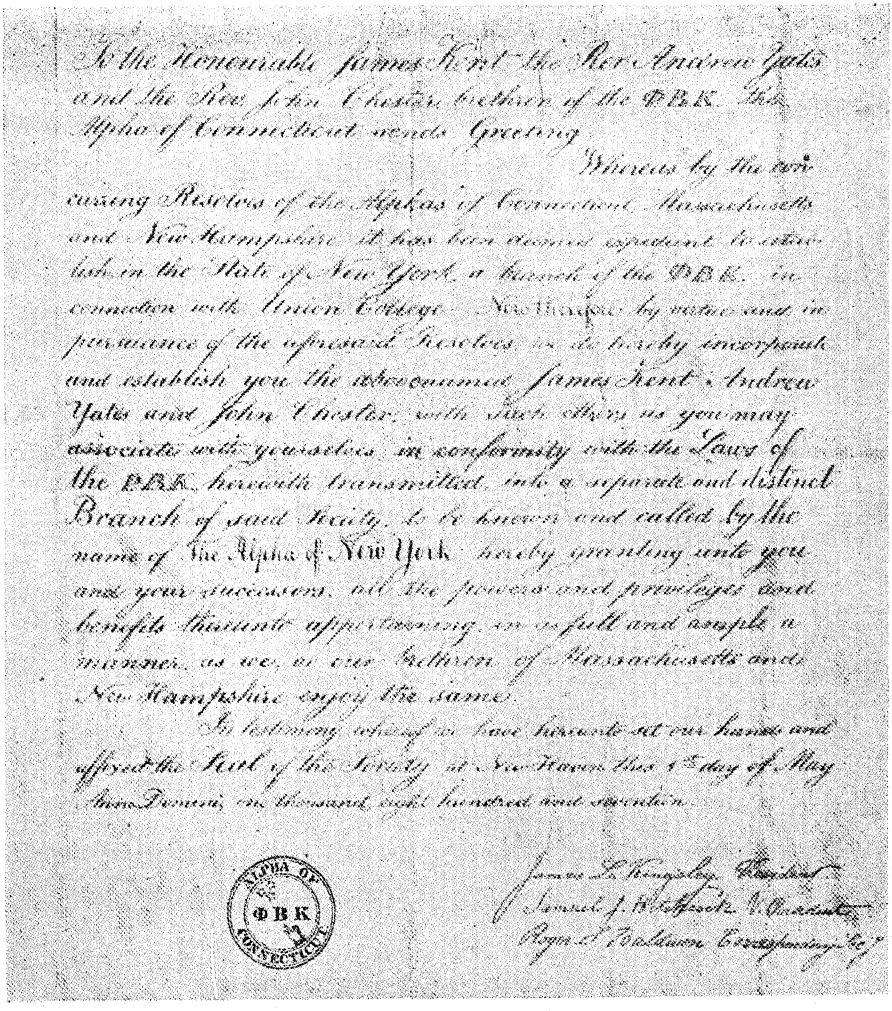
ΦBK.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE

SOCIETY.

"*Nec me meminisse pigebit.*"—VIRGIL.

NEW-HAVEN:
PRINTED BY OLIVER STEELE AND CO.
April, 1808.



To the Honorable James Kent the Rev Andrew Yates and the Rev John Chester brethren of the ΦΒΚ. The Alpha of Connecticut sends Greeting

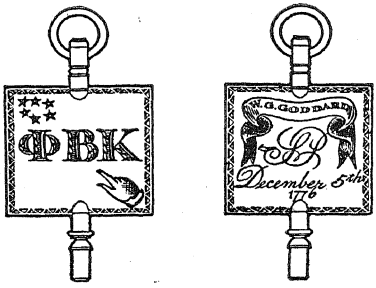
Whereas by the accompanying Resolves of the Alphas of Connecticut Massachusetts and New Hampshire it has been deemed expedient to establish in the State of New York a Branch of the ΦΒΚ. in connection with Union College Now Therefore by virtue and in pursuance of the aforesaid Resolves we do hereby incorporate and establish you the aforenamed James Kent Andrew Yates and John Chester with such others as you may associate with yourselves in conformity with the Laws of the ΦΒΚ. herewith transmitted into a separate and distinct Branch of said Society to be known and called by the name of The Alpha of New York hereby granting unto you and your successors all the powers and privileges and benefits thereunto appertaining as fully and amply in manner as we or our brethren of Massachusetts and New Hampshire enjoy the same

In testimony whereof we have hereunto set our hands and affixed the Seal of the Society at New Haven this 1st day of May Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and seventeen

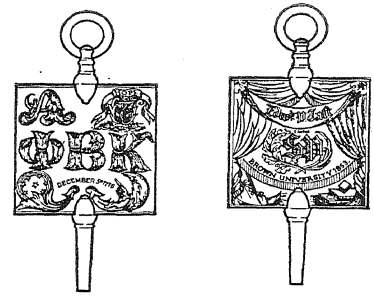
ALPHA OF ΦBK CONNECTICUT

James L. Kingsley President
Samuel J. Hitchcock V. President
Roger S. Baldwin Corresponding Sec.

Charter of the Alpha of New York



The first key of the Brown Chapter, probably influenced by that used at Union



A Brown key of 1853, showing the addition of local details: the A (for "Alpha"), the state seal, and on the reverse the student's materials



Ballot box of the Brown Chapter, dating from 1830

many years an average of two were elected each year to honorary membership.

Thus without amending constitutions the policy of honorary elections became general.

Changes in Constitution and Ritual

The early Alphas had the ideal of similar or identical constitutions for all branches, but local conditions sometimes required action without waiting for word from the other branches. For example, at Yale the amount of fines was revised in 1792, and in the ritual the words used by the secretary in presenting candidates for initiation were changed. At Harvard, fourteen regulations of a minor nature were adopted as additions to the code. In 1797, the immediate society presented some amendments to the graduate society for approval. A committee brought in the report not to originate new laws, but "rather to arrange the laws and create a regular system." One proposal gave rise to some debate, and led the secretary to give it emphasis in his letter to Yale:

"If any member shall be heard to express any sentiments inimical to the Society, or shall do any act, or concert any design injurious to the same, he shall be informed against at the first regular meeting, and shall be fined, censured or even excluded from the meetings of the Society until the anniversary, provided that two-thirds of the members present shall agree to such exclusion."

This communication was referred to a committee of three at Yale to examine the laws of the Society, and arrange them in proper order. The secretary was authorized "to procure some person belonging to this Society to copy in a legible handwriting the laws . . . at the expense of the Society." There is no record of an agreement between the Alphas of Massachusetts and Connecticut on amendment of the laws, yet five years later, Joseph McKeen, class of 1794, writing to Yale, asserted that members at Harvard "hold as a primary and inviolable principle, the affiliation or confraternity of each with every branch." Therefore "every motive of decorum and expediency enforces an adherence to some general system, no part of which is to be altered, except by the joint consent of all."

They also believed "that some changes, in the original arrangements received from William and Mary may be made in perfect consistency with our obligations, and greatly promotive of our advantage."

After extended discussion, two proposals, "adopted, at a very full meeting, without a dissentient," were now presented for consideration. No copy of other changes is preserved. These were adopted:

"1st. That in future the *Oath* of Initiation be dispensed with, because the custom of extrajudicial oaths is a violation of their solemnity, and tends to weaken the obligation, of such as are legally taken. In lieu of the

oath a declaration on honor, you solemnly and sincerely declare: shall be required.

"2nd. That the last clause be omitted in Article 5 of the paper signed by members elect preparatory to being made acquainted with the charter, which article is as follows: 'Will you assist him [every worthy brother], when in distress, *with your life and fortune*?' because it involves more than ought be required, or will ever be performed."

A reply brought to Harvard the information that Yale had modified the oath of initiation in its revision of 1787, and, having offered its revised laws and ritual to Dartmouth, that branch had never heard of the oath adopted at William and Mary in January, 1779.

On the report of the committee appointed in 1806, the Alpha at Yale voted to "accede to the alteration proposed by Alpha of Massachusetts relative to the Oath to be administered at the admission of members and also relative to the fifth interrogatory, to take effect whenever the Alpha of New Hampshire shall accede to the same."

In addition it requested the other branches "To consent to an alteration of the constitution in such form, that each Alpha, may form a suitable address to be made to new members; or may direct that the President, from year to year, shall make a suitable address in lieu of the present address."

This was in reality a change in the ritual. By a third resolution the Alpha at Yale directed the register to make out exact copies of the constitution of the Alpha of Connecticut and to transmit one to each branch of the Φ B K; also to request each branch to transmit to the corresponding secretary at New Haven an exact copy of each of their constitutions, so that he might ascertain the variations if any existed.

A further note in the minutes shows that there was not unanimity: "The minority in the vote which was proposed to dispense in the future with the Oath of Initiation appointed a committee to draft a protest to the above vote with directions to see it entered on the records of the Society."

The protest expressed a fear that the omission of the oath would result in the loss of something vital to the Society, that the proposal was inexpedient and that it was prohibited by the charter. It was signed by the committee consisting of Isaac Mills Ely, Leonard M. Wales, and Henry P. Strong, along with twenty members from Yale and one from Harvard.

The communication from Yale was discussed at Harvard and President McKeen was asked to "correspond with any persons who may be appointed by the Alphas of Connecticut and Dartmouth relative to forming an address to be made to the new members on their admission to the

Society." Accepting the principle of the protest, the Alpha of Massachusetts did not modify its oath. Partly on this account it became, two decades later, the object of opposition because of its secret character; it then declared that even an affirmation was unnecessary. The subject was discussed at Dartmouth at the commencement meeting, August 24, 1808, and Daniel Adams was asked to "correspond with the other Alphas concerning the address; and that no oath should be administered, but instead of it the candidate shall sincerely and solemnly declare, etc."

It is not of record that any form was adopted. At Yale, especially, the president made a formal address, and for a time initiations were attended by members of the community. At Harvard initiations became less formal; at Dartmouth few changes were made.

Charter, Medal, Seal, Salutation

Four characteristics marked the Society from its beginning—charters, medal or badge, seal, and token of salutation. Considered essential at first, they did not remain as fixed as the founders had hoped.

The original charters were indeed worthy documents and are fortunately in existence. From the beginning each member was required to procure a medal, the form and insignia of which were adopted at the Society's first meeting. Charters for the New England branches at Yale and Harvard required "that their members be provided with a medal of the same form and kind with that herewith transmitted you, without any alteration whatsoever."

Neither of those medals has been preserved, but a William and Mary medal came into the possession of Robert A. Brock, Secretary of the Virginia Historical Society at Richmond. Another original medal, which had belonged to Peyton Short, is a treasured exhibit in the library of the College of William and Mary.

No medals belonging to early members at Yale have been found. The oldest one preserved belonged to Jeremiah Atwater of the class of 1793, who in 1800 became the first president of Middlebury College. This since 1935 has been in the keeping of the Beta of Vermont at Middlebury. It varies only slightly from the original. At Yale the early practice of varying the design of the top of the medal was followed a little later by the use of gold instead of silver, and by attaching a steel watch key at the bottom—a purely utilitarian device. One of this form is preserved at Yale. Members were not particular in requiring medals of identical design. Ornate borders and an ornamental top were accepted for a time, but the insignia, including the date, remained unchanged.

At Harvard all early medals that have been preserved bear the Alpha's

date, September 5, 1781. The medal of Benjamin Pickman, class of 1784, is one inch square, but the ring is somewhat larger than the original, and the "index" or hand is ornamented with a ruffed cuff. A medal of 1792 is a close reproduction of the other, but slightly smaller, and one of 1820 is wider than the original. A die made about this time by a jeweler was later purchased by the Society. After that all medals were alike, nearly square and slightly larger than the original. The S P, no longer a script monogram, was surrounded by a wreath, and *September* no longer in script was placed so that the name of the owner might be engraved beneath.

The oldest medal preserved at Dartmouth bears the original date—and is slightly less than one inch square. All extant badges of members at Union College are of gold and in key form, broader and with more ornate borders, bearing the date of the original Society. The ring was attached to a short stem, and the script monogram S P was placed upon the middle of the face, leaving room above for the owner's name.

One record at Union is of interest. On July 27, 1825, after the organization of the Alpha of Maine, it was voted that the badge be altered by the addition of another star, an action taken because the Alpha at Bowdoin had placed five stars, the number of active Alphas, upon its badges. These were of silver and bore the date of organization, February 22, 1825. This change did not influence the practice of other Alphas, for the key used at Yale and at Union, proved the most popular. Thus apparently without definite legislation except as to the number of the stars, the original silver medal, transformed into a golden key, became the accepted badge of the Society.

A seal was used to authenticate the Harvard and Yale charters but the wax became broken and the exact design of the seal cannot now be determined. No seal is affixed to the Dartmouth charter. When the Alpha of Connecticut prepared a charter for Union, a seal was impressed upon the parchment and it can still be read. This seal is believed to contain the design of the original at William and Mary, with "Alpha of Connecticut" in a surrounding circle.

At Dartmouth the decision to procure a seal followed a vote in July, 1798, to appoint a committee "to draught the form of a diploma"—a certificate of membership—a second committee being soon appointed to devise and procure a seal for the Alpha. The Latin text was accepted at the anniversary meeting. Nearly two years later, on July 30, 1800, Daniel Webster, secretary pro tem., wrote: "Voted that the seal prepared by Brother Jun. Noyes be purchased by the Society at the price of seven dollars."

There is no evidence that certificates were issued to members, and the

seal then adopted is not found on any document. Its design has no relation to seals at William and Mary and at Yale.

The ritual provided that, after the oath had been administered by the president, he should explain the "Medal and Sign of the Society," and, after addressing the initiate, he was to "take him by the hand with a congratulation." The secretary should then give him welcome, and "introduce him to each of the Members separately; all taking care to use the mode of shaking hands peculiar to the Φ B K."

This sign and mode of shaking hands were made known by Elisha Parmele to those first initiated in New England. That the form would remain unchanged could hardly be expected. It disappeared entirely from Harvard in 1825, when the early form of initiation was declared unnecessary, and it was of gradually lessening importance at Dartmouth. An early form is known from an illustration in the ritual which accompanied the charter for Union College. This became widely familiar, as it was passed on to the eight branches, including the Alpha of New Jersey.

Another "mode of shaking hands" was revealed in 1831 in Avery Allyn's book entitled *A Ritual of Free Masonry*, which included "A Key to the Phi Beta Kappa," with illustrations of the medal, and of two members with hands clasped in a form quite different from the form in use at Yale. This was used, it would seem, for a time at Harvard. The Brown chapter used a third grip, in type midway between these two.

Allyn explained that: "The grip is like the common shaking of hands, only not interlocking the thumbs, and at the same time gently pressing the wrist. . . . The sign is given by placing the two forefingers of the right hand so as to cover the left corner of the mouth; draw them across the chin."

These statements were quoted by Lyman H. Bagg in his "Four Years at Yale," published in 1871 with no intimation that the sign or grip was used there. Evidently he was unaware that a different mode of shaking hands had been used at Yale at an earlier time.

These are the latest references to the Society's grip. In some form it continued to be used, except at Harvard, but at initiations only. The use of the sign seems not to have been continued.

The Relief Fund

The principle of assistance for the needy was stated in the ritual of the Society, adopted in February, 1779, when an affirmative answer was expected to the questions:

"Will you regard every worthy member of this Society as a Brother?"

"Will you assist them when in distress with your Life and Fortune?"

The propriety of these pledges was at times questioned, but the principle underlying the obligation remained.

The idea of relieving needy members by substituting corporate for individual assistance was first entered on the records at Yale in 1796, and at Harvard in May, 1797. At the general meeting at Yale, on September 15, it was "Voted that a committee be appointed to report at the next anniversary meeting, whether any or what tax, it will be eligible to assess, on the members of the Society; or whether any other mode will, in their opinion, be preferable, for raising monies to be appropriated for the relief of indigent merit among the members, or for a distribution of premiums at [for] the future dis[s]ertation of the Society."

No immediate report is noted. The Alpha was then pressed by proposals, one from Harvard requesting cooperation in the publication of a literary periodical, another proposing a charter for Williams College, and a third, as reported, "To take into consideration the practicability and expediency of extending this Society to embrace objects of a Philosophical and Historical nature, or either of them, and report their opinion thereon, together with a plan for the extension of the objects of the Society, should they deem the extension practicable and expedient."

A report dated June 9 next placed emphasis on "premiums for promoting literature," suggesting that if "proper objects of . . . benevolence exist in the Society, an occasional collection by subscription be made at an annual meeting in September." There is no evidence that any action was taken.

The Yale proposal was forwarded to the other Alphas and on May 12 the Massachusetts Alpha "chose Brothers Pipon, Bartlett, Dehon, Bender, Abbot 1st., Binney and White a committee to consult and report at anniversary respecting a fund of relieving indigent brethren."

The report on the fund was the last item of business at the anniversary meeting of July 20, 1797. The report approving the proposal recommended that at each anniversary voluntary contributions be received, and placed in the hands of a Board of Trustees, who should loan the income only and report annually respecting the status of the fund, the names of contributors being duly "enrolled in a book, kept sacred to the purpose of handing to posterity the patrons of this benevolent institution."

The principles were thus stated: "Whereas it is a noble and desirable object to strengthen the ties, which bind man to man, particularly in a society, which aims by contracting the circle, to render union more intimate, and to make the interest of one the interest of the whole, it is thought expedient, without meaning to lose the literary in the humane institution, and without violating any charter restriction, to establish a fund; the object of which shall be to relieve those members of our brother-

hood, whom fortune may distress, to accomodate those who may wish for assistance, and in general, to extend the advantages which result from a connexion with the Φ B K."

These corollaries are interesting:

1. The fund was inclusive, for aid was to be given to members of all branches of the Society.
2. The Society at large reserved the right "to alter the arrangements for managing" the fund.
3. An account of the action was to be "sent to the other branches of the Φ B K with our warmest wishes for their concurrance in this noble and important design."

The Harvard action, discussed a month later at the anniversary meeting at Dartmouth, was referred to the committee appointed to revise the Constitution and By-Laws. At the first succeeding meeting a "communication from the Connecticut Alpha respecting establishing a premium and for the encouragement of indigent merit" was referred to the same committee. It is quite evident that a Society only ten years of age, nearly all of its 130 members being recent graduates, had not felt the need of a fund such as Harvard had authorized. The corresponding secretary, in a long letter written on October 9, thus described the situation:

"We wish to adopt some measure which may have the same end in view. . . . The expediency of a measure which must necessarily be so extensive as that adopted by our brethren of Massachusetts, is doubted. It is feared that we [will] not be able to obtain contributions sufficient for the establishment of a fund any way adequate to the extent of the object."

Hence in the following May the "committee agreed to recommend . . . articles to the Society in preference to either of the systems mentioned" in the communications.

The object was a library, a fund for the purchase of books on natural philosophy, natural history and chemistry—to bear the name of that person who within three years from the following commencement would make the largest donation to it. At each anniversary all who were "disposed to promote the increase of said Library" might make a contribution. Laws for its government could be adopted when necessary.

The committee recommended an addition to the constitution providing that "every brother in regular standing, who shall have received a degree at this University, shall be entitled, upon request, to receive a Diploma, significant of his right to all the privileges of this Society, and recommending him to the friendship and attention of the Brotherhood:

which shall be under seal, signed by the President and countersigned by the Secretary."

The proposal for a library was similar to one adopted at Harvard ten years before. All the recommendations were adopted save the one providing for a contribution at each anniversary. Without added funds the proposal came to naught. The cost of the diploma (in Latin) and seal was the only additional expense the treasury could then afford. Hence only the Alpha at Harvard established a fund for needy members. Though it was not a complete success, the fund continued for forty-five years. So far as is known, this was the first relief fund instituted and maintained by an independent society in an American college.

Though the idea of a relief fund was not accepted by the three branches, the Alpha at Harvard promoted it with enthusiasm. A year after the adoption of the plan, it was reported that . . . "after deducting the expences of the year $41.95 now remained in the hands of the Treasurer. The principle by bonds of Jonathan Hearsey and Aaron Learned."

Though the fund had been designed for the relief of indigent members outside of the College, it was later extended to members about to graduate, loans being limited to $50 each.

In June, 1803, Sidney Willard, corresponding secretary, wrote to Yale that the amount in hand which had been raised by an annual contribution from the Society totaled $250; and that the report of the trustees was "satisfactory and evinced their conscientiousness and good management."

This policy was continued until the fund was liquidated in 1845. As annual offerings were not large and loans were made when possible, only a small balance remained at each anniversary. In 1803 the fund amounted to $250.12, of which $40.68 was in the hands of the treasurer. In 1807 these amounts respectively were $355.59 and $130.67.

The annual statements are still preserved on loose sheets. The report of August, 1835, showed that the securities and cash constituting the fund totaled $874.61 with cash in the treasury of $222.52. The "securities" consisted of two bonds, one due bill, and four notes, though the difference among them is not clear. On the bonds, interest due in one case was reckoned for twenty-five years, and in the other for twenty-two—in each case being greater than the principal that remained due. The amount due on notes was $192.80. The due bill, $15 with interest for twenty years, was reckoned as $33. The four notes had been executed thirteen, eleven, eight and four years earlier, and with unpaid interest were valued at $426.27.

This balance interested the undergraduates in view of mounting costs of anniversaries, and the treasurer was authorized to secure a record book, to pay a printing bill and the secretary for extra services, and a

bill of $65 for music for the anniversary of 1832, leaving a balance of $191 in the treasury.

This account was audited and reported correct, and then copied in the new book in which all annual statements appear thereafter. The fund was further decreased by a payment of $49.31 for 750 copies of the catalogue of members.

Making conditions public had a good effect, for in 1841 the amount due on bonds and notes had been reduced to $217.50. The fund was continued for four years more, after which the committee reported through Simon Greenleaf:

"The undersigned respectfully reports that he has again examined the securities mentioned in the report of last year, and finds that their value to the Society has not increased by lapse of time; and that being worthless in a pecuniary view their destruction will save the Treasurer and committee the impossible labor of preserving them on file, entering them in account, and annually examining and reporting to the Society the unimportant fact that it actually possesses three promissory notes and two bonds of some twenty or thirty years standing and of no value. He has also examined the above stated account of the Treasurer, and finds it to be rightly cast and well vouchered."

This recommendation was adopted, and Francis Bowen, treasurer, made entry on August 25, 1845: "The Society this day voted that the above mentioned notes and bonds should be destroyed, and I have executed their vote." The cash balance was placed in the Alpha's general fund.

Early Phi Beta Kappa Periodicals

Near the turn of the century, at the time when charter grants were being discussed, two new forms of activity were proposed, one at Yale, one at Harvard. Though the suggestion of a "literary periodical" was made a few months after a "fund for the relief of indigent merit," the periodical proved to be shorter lived. First proposed in 1800, *The Literary Miscellany* was begun in 1804 and discontinued after 1806. The fund was continued at Harvard until 1845. Because of the loss of the anniversary record book at Harvard, the details of the original proposal for a Phi Beta Kappa periodical are not known. However, letters in existence at Yale, and statements in the minutes of the Alphas at Yale and Dartmouth, present with fair clearness the Society's first venture into the field of publication, and its immediate and more remote results.

The first periodical to be issued at an American college was the

Literary Tablet, begun at Dartmouth in August, 1803, and continued through four years. It was mentioned along with *The Literary Miscellany* in 1887 by Frederick Chase in his Historical Address at Dartmouth:

"In 1804 our chapter assented to a plan proposed by Harvard for the joint publication of a periodical to be entitled the 'Literary Miscellany' and the next year a committee was here from Cambridge to complete the arrangements. At the same time, three graduate members (D. Webster, J. Noyes and T. A. Merrill) were named a committee to arrange for an independent periodical to be issued by the Dartmouth chapter. We are unable to ascertain that either scheme was made effectual, unless the *Literary Tablet*, edited here anonymously at that period every alternate week for several years, indicates something of the kind.

"The lack of interest in literary subjects then prevailing was much discussed, for example, the Phi Beta Kappa oration delivered at Yale in September, 1799 by George Tod, Esq., on 'The Causes of the Low State of Literature in the United States.'" However, three months later, at the anniversary meeting, "Mr. Tutor Fowler [Bancroft Fowler, 1796] . . . defended American Literature against the attacks of Europeans and all other persons who feel inclined to dispute our merit or calumniate our character."

Inspired by the discussion came several periodicals for which members of Phi Beta Kappa were responsible. *The Monthly Anthology* appeared in Boston in 1803 and continued under varying names for nine years. Three successive editors were members of Phi Beta Kappa. In 1805 responsibility for the publication was assumed by the Anthology Club, eleven of whose fourteen founders were members of the Alpha of Massachusetts. *The Anthology* and *The Literary Miscellany*, fostered by the Alpha at Harvard, began their careers at about the same time. The latter, if not proposed by Sidney Willard, son of President Willard of Harvard, was promoted by him.

Action at Harvard proposing a periodical by the three Alphas received attention at Yale at the commencement meeting at the State House, September 11, 1800. The minutes read: "Resolved that this Society do concur in the proposition for the institution of a periodical publication made by the Alpha of Massachusetts *so far as to appoint* a Committee to correspond with the Alpha of Massachusetts and any other Alpha upon the subject, and to propose with them such definite arrangements as may be thought requisite for the execution of the proposed plan."

A year later Willard wrote to Yale: "I have been told that you were informed of the subject of the literary review, which was discussed by this branch of the Phi Beta Kappa previous to your last anniversary."

He then named five prominent members "chosen a committee for the

best mode of carrying it into effect," one being Rev. Jedidiah Morse of the Alpha of Connecticut. Progress was slow. On the committee's report in June, 1802, another was appointed, as Willard wrote, to conduct the publication of a periodical work. It prepared a *Proposal,* of which no copy has been preserved, though noted in the minutes at both Dartmouth and Yale. Willard's letter of June 13, 1803, enclosing it, stated that the committee members "solicit the cooperation of the Alpha of Connecticut. I will thank their Brethren for any assistance to the work, either by becoming subscribers, or by transmitting communications on any of the subjects proposed or which are connected with design of the publication.

"It is requested that all communication be made to the 'Editor of the Literary Miscellany' under cover of letter to Mr. William Hillard, Printer, Cambridge."

In a postscript Willard wrote that the committee was chosen with full powers to carry on a literary publication in the name of the Φ B K Society, and concluded that it was thought "best, for several reasons, not to recognize the name of the Society in the proposals, though at the same time they wish not to conceal the relation which the publication holds to it."

He wrote further: "The Society has acquired a degree of celebrity in the public opinion which it must strive to preserve. Without endeavoring to raise expectations we know that much is expected from the Literary Miscellany. These high expectations must not be disappointed. We believe very much in solid equipments in literature and science made in your University—and must again request that your Fraternity will give the work which has been mentioned all the *Literary aid* (especially) which your [situation] may admit."

The proposal was considered at Dartmouth on March 29, 1804, when it was voted that the corresponding secretary be directed to forward a list of subscribers' names for the Alpha. Those who received copies were no doubt surprised that it contained no date or statement of the subscription price. Phi Beta Kappa's connection was not stated, nor was the editor or any of the authors mentioned. Willard, in his "Memories of Youth and Manhood," published in 1855, revealed that "the Literary Miscellany exhibited its first fruits in July, 1804."

In a communication of March 4, 1805, when the third number was about ready to be issued, Willard commended the Yale Society for its deep interest in the affairs of the Φ B K, and added:

"I am sorry, however, that you have not seen fit to aid us by Literary contributions for our Miscellany. The labor falls on a few, compared with the number of literary men in the several branches of the Society.

I think you consulted me sometime since on the mode of conveying any communications for this work.

"I hope and trust we shall be able to support this publication. We wish our Brethren of the other branches of the Φ B K to feel the same interest in it which we do; for the more extensive our correspondence becomes, the greater variety our work will afford, and the burden of sustaining it will be the more diffused."

These were named as editors: Samuel Kirkland 1803, Joseph Emerson 1798, Francis D. Channing 1794, of Boston, Rev. John Pierce 1793 of Brookline, Thaddeus M. Harris 1794 of Dorchester, Levi Hedge 1792, William Jenks 1797, Parker Cleaveland 1799, and Sidney Willard 1798 of Cambridge. Respecting the enclosed "list of members for the last year" Willard wrote:

"They are truly an acquisition to our Fraternity.

"The Alpha of Connecticut will accept our best wishes that it may continue to prosper and furnish eminent characters in Church and State."

A month later, three graduate students were "chosen a committee to examine any production which may be presented to them for transmission to the Editors of the Literary Miscellany."

A similar lack of interest prevailed at Dartmouth. On an appeal from Willard a committee was appointed "to make arrangements respecting the Literary Miscellany." Its report, duly accepted, was so effectually "lodged with the Secretary" that it cannot now be found. Perhaps the copies sent from Cambridge did not satisfy the members at Dartmouth. On August 27, at the anniversary meeting, it was "voted that there be a committee of three for the purpose of taking into consideration the expediency of publishing a Miscellany under the direction of this Alpha and that they report at the next anniversary."

The Literary Miscellany was continued one more year, eight numbers, each of one hundred pages, being published. The venture was soon forgotten by the Society as a whole, but not by the four men who had given it much time and energy. In his book Willard wrote of the venture at length. He considered *The Miscellany* as a link in a chain of publications through which some members of Phi Beta Kappa attained success. He explained that because of growing opposition to secret societies, aroused by the reprinting in 1800 of Professor Robinson's book, Phi Beta Kappa's sponsorship was not announced. The prospectus in the first number stated that "the Publication of the Literary Miscellany was projected by a few friends who agreed to contribute such reflections and remarks, as were the result of their studies, with a wish to rouse a *mutual* emulation in literary pursuits, and to excite in *others* a taste for scientific investigation."

Willard admitted that it was unwise to seem to rival *The Monthly Anthology*. Hence, "After the second annual harvest, slender as it might have been regarded, the market was found glutted, the labor not rewarded and the field was abandoned."

In addition to advantages assured to *The Anthology* "in consequence of the *esprit de corps* . . . generated" by the formation of the Club, of which Willard later became a member, *The Miscellany*, "was about to lose two of its contributors in Cambridge, and could not depend upon the prompt aid of those who resided elsewhere; so that, with the second volume, which was completed and published a few months after this change in the affairs of the Anthology, it expired."

Willard has noted the authors of many of the articles in *The Miscellany*, Thaddeus Mason Harris, John Quincy Adams, Rev. Abiel Abbot, William Wells, John Abbot, Arthur Maynard Wells, Laomi Baldwin, Andrews Norton, and John Lovejoy Abbot. It was a young man's periodical.

Since a large majority of the Anthology Club were members of Phi Beta Kappa, much of the spirit of *The Miscellany* was not lost. When Willard's classmate and fellow member of both the Alpha and the Anthology Club, William Tudor, Jr., began in 1812 *The North American Review*, the initial objectives became realities, and Phi Beta Kappa had inspired a great institution.

The Literary Tablet, published at Dartmouth for four years, was sponsored, it is believed, by faculty members. Its last number appeared in August, 1807. The publisher of *The Cabinet* was Moses Davis, a printer of Hanover who published also a weekly, *The Dartmouth Gazette*, in no way connected with the College; the publisher of *The Miscellany* was William Hillard, printer of Cambridge, who a little later printed the earliest catalogues of the Alpha of Massachusetts.

When in 1806 the senior class at Yale decided to publish a monthly, its relation with the College was stated:

THE LITERARY CABINET

Vol. 1 Yale College, November 15, 1806 No. 1

This venture is mentioned because all three seniors who signed the Prospectus were members of the Alpha of Connecticut. They stated these

CONDITIONS

I. This Paper will be under the direction of Editors, chosen from the Senior Class.

II. It will be published once a fortnight, on a half sheet in the octavo form.

III. The price will be One Dollar per annum—Fifty Cents to be paid in advance.

The editors in the prospectus commended their paper to the patronage of the public by avowing an unselfish purpose, for "the pecuniary profit which may be derived from an extensive circulation is . . . to be appropriated to the education of poor students in this Seminary.

"*The Literary Cabinet* is published for the purpose of improving the youth of this College in the art of writing. . . . It must be obvious to every person that the most correct, the best cultivated mind, would be comparatively worthless if the world were not to reap the benefits of its speculations. . . . We are to make use of an invention, which if it is not derived from God, is the most important that Man can claim to be the author of."

The editors were young men of promise. Leonard E. Wales of New Haven, a rising young lawyer, was for six years corresponding secretary of the Alpha, and its orator in 1811. He died at the early age of thirty-six. Thomas S. Grimke, of South Carolina, afterward became an author of note, a member of the State Senate for six years, and was awarded an LL.D. by Yale in 1830. The third, Jacob Sutherland, later Justice of the Supreme Court of New York, was awarded an LL.D. by Columbia in 1836.

The successive numbers of *The Literary Cabinet* are a credit to the editors. The only bound copy known to exist is in the Yale University Library. The concluding number, that of August 29, 1807, gives no intimation that it was to be the last. Expectations of a large surplus failed to be realized and the class of 1808 did not continue publication. This was, so far as is known, the earliest periodical issued by students in an American college.

After the brief career of *The Literary Miscellany* at Harvard, no Phi Beta Kappa periodical was proposed for twenty years. Then a second venture was made by James Gordon Brooks, an early member of the Alpha of New York, who, after brief experience as a lawyer, became an editor. For two years he was associated with George Houston in publishing *Minerva,* then assumed responsibility for a new weekly, *The New York Literary Gazette and Phi Beta Kappa Repository,* to be printed every Saturday by J. Seymour at 49 John St., New York, with a subscription rate of "Four Dollars per annum, *payable in advance.*" The first number bears the date, September 10, 1825. A copy of the first volume, bound in sheep, is in the Library of the United Chapters. Each number was of sixteen closely printed, double-column pages. As this weekly received

scant support from other members of Phi Beta Kappa, and contained little news of the Society's activities, the title was changed at the end of the half-year to *Literary Gazette,* later *The Literary Gazette and American Athenæum.*

During those six months some interesting items respecting the Society appeared, including, in the third number, a three-page review of Governor DeWitt Clinton's "Discourse before the *New York Alpha of the Phi Beta Kappa,*" delivered in July, 1823; and, some months later, a brief note respecting Judge James Gould's address to the Connecticut Alpha delivered the previous July. In October were listed the six students elected to the Phi Beta Kappa of Harvard University in 1824, and the eight elected in 1825. Other items included the officers of the Harvard Society in 1823; and on December 3 the appointments for the next anniversary at Harvard were noted, including Hon. Jonas Storey [Joseph Story] as orator, Rev. Mr. Peabody as poet, and Rev. Francis Wayland as chaplain.

The opportunity of announcing the installation of the Alpha of Maine at Bowdoin College was lost, possibly because it received slight publicity outside of the State. So meager were items respecting the Society that, in number 26, the decision was announced:

"*Phi Beta Kappa.* We shall drop this part of our title with the present number. When we adopted it we had the promise of the cooperation of several members of the Φ B K Society, and of the orations and poems appertaining to the institution. But those who were most interested in this, have not taken the pains to furnish us with the articles we expected, and consequently the title is inappropriate to our paper. In order to prevent any just complaint at this step, we hereby agree that all the members of the Φ B K who subscribed to our work under the expectation that it would contain the articles to which we have alluded, shall have full liberty to withdraw their names from our subscription list, free of all charges from the commencement of Vol. 1, No. 1. If this is not fair dealing we know not what is."

Mr. Brooks was chosen poet by the Alpha of Connecticut, and at the anniversary held on September 13, at which James A. Hillhouse was orator, he read a poem on "The Nature and Haunts of Genius." Both oration and poem were published in pamphlets.

No Phi Beta Kappa periodical appeared thereafter until 1910, when *The Phi Beta Kappa Key* was authorized by the National Council.

Early Catalogues of the Alphas

The roster of the original Society was the first Phi Beta Kappa catalogue. Article 9 of the charters for the New England branches provided:

"That once in every year for the proper communication between the Societies, to wit, on your Foundation Day, you take a List of your members and transmit the same as soon as possible to our President, noting your Officers, and such new Members as have been initiated since the last return with the name of their County or Place of Abode."

This provision was observed, for in letters from Yale to William and Mary College, a list of members of the new Alpha was inclosed.

In the correspondence between Harvard and Yale, interchange of catalogues was requested. With the exception of a group preserved at Yale, all those early catalogues have disappeared. The oldest of these is entitled:

> A Catalogue of the Persons admitted in the Φ B K Alpha of Massachusetts, with their places of Abode etc.

It is written on two sheets of legal cap paper. On the first page appear the names of thirty-six members admitted at ten initiations between July 17, 1781, and May 29, 1782. On the second page are forty-five names admitted between June 13, 1783, and November 14, 1786.

Although slightly defective, these sheets are well preserved. Fortunately this catalogue was spared when the archives were ransacked only a few months after its receipt. Some years later this entry was made in a vacant space on the right side of the first sheet:

> List of members admitted into the Alpha of Massachusetts between July 17, 1781, and the 14th Nov. '86. "Registered at N. H., H. E. Whitney Regr."

Of the eighty-one names, seventy-three came from Massachusetts, three from New Hampshire, two from New York, and one each from Connecticut, Rhode Island and Nova Scotia. Following the list are three columns headed respectively, "Towns," "States," and "Time of Reception." The first four members were received on June 17, 1781, thus giving definite information of the date when Elisha Parmele completed the commission given him at William and Mary.

The second catalogue is of the Alpha of New Hampshire from its institution, August, 1787, to June, 1797—a manuscript of twelve pages, 6½ x 8″ each, beautifully transcribed by "Ephraim Kingsbury, Jun.," Dartmouth, 1797, "Register Pro tem." It is headed:

> A List of those who have been admitted members of the New Hampshire Alpha since its institution in the year 1787.

Of the 165 members, received at fifty-four initiations, one was starred as "expelled." In addition to the names are six other columns headed,

"College Title," "Names of Towns," "States," "Month of Entrance," "Day of the month," and "Year." A majority, one hundred and twenty-two, at the time of their reception, were juniors; fifteen were seniors, nineteen holding the A.B. degree and nine the A.M.

As the membership increased, the manuscript method proved unsatisfactory and the question of printing catalogues was considered. Both Harvard and Dartmouth issued their first printed catalogues in 1806.

In preparing the material for these, the committees adopted similar plans. Harvard arranged the names by classes, those from classes which graduated before Phi Beta Kappa was instituted being listed under their years of graduation; of these there were twelve from 1772 to 1781. In the succeeding twenty-five classes 366 members are listed. The 344 living members were widely scattered. About three-fourths of them had their homes in Massachusetts. Of the eighty-four living outside Massachusetts, thirty-four were in New Hampshire, seven each in New York and South Carolina, five in Pennsylvania, four each in Rhode Island and the District of Maine (though the term "Maine" was not used); three each in Maryland and the District of Columbia; two each in Vermont and Virginia; and one each in Connecticut, North Carolina, Kentucky, St. John, N.B., Liverpool, England, and Calcutta.

This first Alpha of Massachusetts catalogue was printed in small octavo form of sixteen pages with plain paper cover. The title page does not give the name of the branch nor indicate its connection with Harvard:

A
CATALOGUE
of the
MEMBERS
Belonging to the Society
of
Φ B K
1806

In later catalogues "Fraternity of Φ B K" was substituted for "Members belonging to the Society," and "Alpha of Massachusetts, Harvard University, Cambridge," was added. The names appear in one column, with the city or town in another. States other than Massachusetts are indicated.

The first catalogue printed at Dartmouth was also of sixteen pages with "New Hampshire Alpha of the Φ B K Society" and "Dartmouth University" on the title page. It came in April, 1806, from the press of Moses Davis, the printer of *The Literary Tablet*. Of the 257 names, fifteen are

starred as deceased. Fifteen members are listed as of classes graduated before the grant of the charter, though they were not designated as graduate members. Two others, elected subsequent to their graduation, raise the number to seventeen.

A study of 247 members listed as members during the twenty years shows that seventy-seven were from Massachusetts; New Hampshire, seventy-three; Vermont, forty-three; District of Maine, thirty-eight; New York, four; Rhode Island, three; Pennsylvania, two; and Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee, England, France, East Indies and San Domingo, one each.

Connection with other Alphas was indicated by the summary on the last page:

Whole number in the Alpha of Connecticut in 1803	350
Alpha of Massachusetts in 1806	379
Alpha of New Hampshire	267

These were the first Greek-letter fraternity catalogues to be printed in the United States. Neither at Harvard nor at Dartmouth do records explain when these catalogues were authorized, who prepared them, how many were printed or at what cost. The treasurer's accounts at Harvard were found in great disorder in August, 1806, and a committee was appointed to report at the next meeting. The outcome is not known to us. At Dartmouth it was "Voted that the treasurer assess sufficient money from the members to pay what remained due to Mr. Davis for printing a catalogue of the members of the Φ B K; and certain other arrearages."

At Yale it was voted in September, 1807, "That Brothers Dwight and Jarvis be a committee to get catalogues printed, of all the members that do now belong, or ever have belonged, to this Alpha; and that they draw on the treasurer for the expenses of printing the same.

"The Society had a contribution for the purpose of defraying part of the above expenses; $7.12½ were contributed, and the Secretary directed to deposit this sum in the treasury."

They decided upon a form quite similar to the manuscript catalogues from Dartmouth, but with the names of members arranged alphabetically. The columns were headed "Names," "Places of Abode," "Col Title," and "Time of admission." In the latter the month, the day, and the year were given. The four members selected by Elisha Parmele were listed as received in April, 1780. Twenty bachelors had been admitted, fifty-nine seniors and 390 juniors. Forty-five were starred as deceased.

This first catalogue of the Alpha at Yale was published after the reception of junior members on June 21, 1808. Three years later when Messrs. Baldwin, Silliman, Kingsley, Wales and Evarts were appointed a com-

mittee for the purpose of printing a catalogue of the members of the Society, they followed the same plan.

The three Alphas continued to issue catalogues though with some irregularity: at Harvard in 1811, 1814, and 1818; at Dartmouth in 1809, 1812, 1815, and 1818; and at Yale in 1818.

During the next half century the three Alphas issued forty catalogues: at Yale, twelve; at Harvard, fourteen; and at Dartmouth, fourteen. In outward appearance they did not differ greatly; all were paper bound.

When the Alpha of New Hampshire published its third catalogue in 1812, it adopted the Yale plan of an alphabetical listing of members, but it returned to the class arrangement twenty years later.

The form first adopted at Yale was continued in the seven catalogues issued until 1829. Then, on December 8, 1835, it was voted that:

"The order of members on the catalogue shall be altered so that instead of the present alphabetical arrangement, the names shall be arranged according to the classes as in the triennial catalogue. The College title, whether Senior, Junior, or A.B. which are placed upon the present catalogue shall be omitted in the next."

Hence the catalogue of 1839 appeared in a form like that at Harvard, but with less information concerning the members. The third Harvard catalogue, August, 1814, has this "Advertisement":

"The committee, who had in charge the publishing of this edition of the ΦBK catalogue, are fearful, notwithstanding their endeavours to make it correct, that it may contain many errors, in respect to the address, addition, or place of abode of members. Where the address &c. were unknown to the committee, or concerning which they were doubtful, they have, in general, barely inserted the name and place of residence. It is hoped that those Brethren, who may find their names incorrectly printed, or who may discover mistakes of any kind in the catalogue, will communicate the information to some Officer of the Society, residing at the University; and in season to have the corrections in the next edition.

"To the names of members, who are, or have been, *Counsellors-at-law,* Esq. is added, as well as to those of magistrates; excepting when entitled to the address of *Honourable.*

"The letters &c. used in this catalogue, to designate the *literary Societies* to which members belong, are, generally, as will be perceived, those of the official catalogue of the University."

This form was observed in several succeeding catalogues, and conveyed information of the positions attained by older members. On page 4 lists of the three principal officers were printed, and on the last page the names of those who had "officiated as orators and poets at the anni-

versaries of the Φ B K, Alpha of Massachusetts." The existence of other branches was thus recognized:

Whole number at	Yale College	A.D. 1809–450
Ditto	at Dartmouth College	A.D. 1812–366
Ditto	at Harvard University	A.D. 1814–489

The first printed catalogue at Union College was issued in 1827 at the conclusion of the Alpha's first decade. Lists of officers from the beginning were printed, followed by the names of all the members, with no attempt to segregate those received as students. A summary of the Society's membership by Alphas as given in their most recent catalogues and a list of those who had officiated as orators followed.

The earliest catalogues had on their title pages "A Catalogue of THE FRATERNITY of the New York Alpha of the Φ B K Union College, Schenectady." In later catalogues "The Fraternity" was omitted, but "New York Alpha" was continued and used also on many published orations. On other orations "of the Phi Beta Kappa," or "Phi Beta Kappa Society," was substituted. Later still "New York Alpha" was omitted and "Phi Beta Kappa Society," or "Society of Phi Beta Kappa" became the name. Not until after the Alpha's centennial in 1917, when a centenary booklet was published, did "Alpha of New York," the official name given in the charter, appear. Curiously the "Centennial Catalogue," issued at the same time, was of the "New York Alpha of the Phi Beta Kappa."

Though in its first catalogues the Society adopted a new method, arranging all the members admitted in any one academic year alphabetically, in later editions members were listed in two groups—the one of "ordinary" or student members, the other of those elected to honorary membership. A short rule separated the two groups, the class years of those elected as alumni being printed in parentheses after their names to distinguish them from other honorary members.

In the catalogues issued at Yale, Harvard and Dartmouth in 1818 are tables giving the total membership of each Alpha. The names of members known to have died are distinguished by asterisks.

MEMBERSHIP IN 1818

Alpha	*Total*	*Deceased*	*Living*
Virginia	50	36	14
Connecticut	629	86	543
Massachusetts	562	104	458
New Hampshire	421	57	364
New York	155	0	155
	1,817	283	1,534

Since the number of deaths was slightly greater than had been reported, the living membership was approximately 1,500.

Distinguished Members

That the members of the original Society at William and Mary were men of unusual worth is now evident. The first public reference to the careers of the fifty founders was in Griggsby's "Convention of 1788," published in 1859 by the Virginia Historical Society. In April, 1896, when Phi Beta Kappa was in its one hundred and twentieth year, an appraisal of their services was first attempted by Dr. Lyon G. Tyler, president of the College of William and Mary, in *The William and Mary College Quarterly.*

Conditions were favorable for members of Phi Beta Kappa in service. Military activities, enlistment in the College Company, gave preparation, and many served in the Militia of Virginia and in the Continental Army. Seven of these men won promotion. George Brent became a cavalry captain; Isaac Hite and William Madison, lieutenants; John Swan, a captain and then major; John Marshall and William Pierce, captains; and George Lee Turberville, captain and major.

With unusual promptness these men became active in the political life of Virginia. In 1781 Samuel Hardy served in the House of Deputies and later in the Continental Congress; John Beckley served for eight years as clerk and later became clerk of the first United States House of Representatives. In 1782 John Heath, John Brown, Spencer Roane and John Marshall became members of the House of Delegates, and a year later Daniel Carroll Brent and Archibald Stuart became deputies.

William Pierce was sent as a delegate to the Constitutional Convention. When the proposed constitution reached Virginia, it was submitted to a special convention in which nine Phi Beta Kappa men had seats—William Cabell, John Marshall, Stevens Thomson Mason, Lytleton Eyre, John Allen, Archibald Stuart, Bushrod Washington, Thomas Smith and George Lee Turberville. When the Convention opened on June 2, it was evident that the result was in doubt. John Marshall was strong in its favor. The Convention remained in session three weeks. On the motion to ratify, the seven members of the Alpha of Virginia held the balance of power and voted in the affirmative. At the time it was believed that Virginia's vote was the tenth and the decisive one. But New Hampshire had passed its favorable vote three days earlier.

During several succeeding decades these outstanding members of Phi Beta Kappa went forward in careers of marked distinction. Stevens Thomson Mason, along with Patrick Henry, became a strong leader in

the legislative affairs of Virginia. John Brown, who had removed to Kentucky, was chosen in 1793 one of the first Senators from that State; John Heath and Richard Bland Lee were members of the House of Representatives. Archibald Stuart was a Judge of the General Court from 1801 until his death in 1832; Spencer Roane, a son-in-law of Patrick Henry, became a Judge of the General Court, and was promoted to be a Judge of the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals. Two members served with distinction on the Supreme Court of the United States: Bushrod Washington and John Marshall, the latter as Chief Justice.

William Short accompanied Jefferson in 1785 on his mission to France, as his secretary. When Jefferson was recalled in 1789 to become Secretary of State, Short was made *chargé d'affaires* in the French capital, his commission being the first to be signed by Washington as President. Short remained in diplomatic service about seventeen years and was, to the end of Jefferson's life, one of his closest friends. He died in 1849, being the last survivor of the original members.

Many members of the early New England Alphas gained reputations as men of character and attainment. Nearly one-half of the members down to 1818 became lawyers, nearly forty percent became clergymen or teachers, a small number, physicians or business men.

Of the first class at Yale from which members were selected, three attained distinction—Simeon Baldwin, a Judge of the Superior Court and the Supreme Court of Errors in Connecticut; James Kent, the first professor of law at Columbia, a Justice of the Supreme Court of New York, and Chancellor from 1798 until 1823, after which he published his "Commentaries on American Law," a classic; Israel Smith, a United States Senator and Governor of Vermont; and Samuel Austin, president of the University of Vermont. Abiel Holmes, father of Oliver Wendell Holmes, and Jedidiah Morse, father of the inventor, Samuel F. B. Morse, achieved great distinction. Holmes was author of a life of his father-in-law, President Ezra Stiles of Yale, and of a standard work first published in 1805, the later editions of which were entitled "The Annals of America." Morse became editor of *The Panoplist*, helped to found Andover Theological Seminary, and is best known for his geographies and his *National Gazetteer*.

In the class of 1787 were Azel Backus, who became president of Hamilton College, and Gideon Granger, who was Postmaster General from 1801 to 1814. Eli Whitney of the class of 1792 invented the cotton gin and was later head of an important manufacturing establishment. Jeremiah Atwater was the first president of Middlebury College. Jeremiah

Day became a leading professor at Yale, and later the first in a long list of Phi Beta Kappa presidents of Yale.

In the next class were Henry Davis, president of Middlebury College and later of Hamilton College, and Benjamin Silliman, a distinguished member of the Yale faculty. In the class of 1797 were Lyman Beecher, who after a distinguished ministry in Boston became president of Lane Theological Seminary at Cincinnati, and James Murdock, who became a professor in Andover Seminary and later an author of note.

In the class of 1802 were men of brilliant attainments: Isaac Chapman Bates, a United States senator; Jeremiah Evarts, secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; Rev. David Dudley Field; William Maxwell, president of Hampden-Sydney College in Virginia; David Austin Sherman, president of the College of East Tennessee; Junius Smith, a pioneer in steam navigation across the Atlantic; and Gideon Tomlinson, Governor of Connecticut and United States Senator for a term.

In the class of 1803 Sereno Edwards Dwight, president of Hamilton, and Harris Holley, president of Transylvania University, were outstanding.

The class of 1804 had John Caldwell Calhoun of South Carolina, Secretary of War, Secretary of State, and Vice President; Christopher Edwards Gadsen, who became Protestant Episcopal Bishop of South Caroline, and Bennet Tyler president of Dartmouth, and later of East Windsor Theological Seminary.

Mention should also be made of Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet, principal of the Institute for the Deaf and Dumb in Hartford, a pioneer in a work which his sons carried on, giving his name to Gallaudet College in Washington City; and a classmate, Gardiner Spring, with an unusually long service at Brick Presbyterian Church, New York City, from 1810 until 1859.

In the class of 1811 was Joseph Emerson Worcester, who wrote textbooks on geography and history, and compiled dictionaries of the English language, a rival of Noah Webster, whose membership in Phi Beta Kappa did not begin until 1823. Worcester's classmate, William C. Woodbridge, wrote textbooks on geography and was later editor of the *Annals of Education* for five years. Another member of that class, Sidney E. Morse, was editor of *The Boston Recorder*, and later, from 1823 to 1858, of *The New York Observer*.

The four foundation members of the Harvard chapter—apparently the only persons with whom Parmele had direct contact—were Artemas Baker,

Joseph Bartlett, Seth Hastings, and Samuel Kendal. These men chose from the class of 1782 the following: William D. Peck, who became professor of natural history at Harvard; Stephen Van Rensselaer, founder of the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute at Troy; Tobias Lear, who became Washington's secretary; and Harrison Gray Otis, whose eloquence led to his election to the United States Senate from Massachusetts.

In the class of 1784 was Samuel Weber, who became president of Harvard, the first of a long line of sons of the College and members of Phi Beta Kappa to attain that distinction. In the next class were Henry Ware, professor of theology, and Isaac Parker, first professor of law at Harvard elected on the Royal Foundation. John Quincy Adams of the class of 1787 had, of course, a most distinguished career. His oration has been noted, and his continued interest in the Society was apparent when the question of secrecy became acute in 1831. Benjamin Abbot, 1788, became principal of Phillips Exeter Academy, and had as pupils Jared Sparks, Daniel Webster, George Bancroft, and Edward Everett. John Thornton Kirkland became the second Phi Beta Kappa president of Harvard, and Josiah Quincy succeeded him. Levi Hedge became Alford professor of philosophy, while his classmate, John Snelling Popkin, became professor of Greek.

Charles Marsh of the class of 1786, who made the first request for a charter, became a Justice of the United States District Court of Vermont, and served as trustee of the College. Aaron Kinsman was a physician in Portland, Maine; his classmate, Ebenezer Brown, became Chief Justice of a County Court of Vermont. Daniel Dana early became a trustee of Dartmouth, and eventually succeeded Francis Brown as president, but held the office only a year. His outstanding service was as trustee of Andover Theological Seminary from 1804 to 1856. Martin Chittenden became Governor of Vermont; his classmate, Samuel S. Wilde, was a member of the Hartford Convention, and Judge of the Superior Court of Massachusetts for thirty-five years.

In later classes were Richard C. Everett, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas of New Hampshire; Asa Lyon, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Vermont; William Eaton, who became a brigadier general and directed the campaign against Tripoli; Jesse Appleton, president of Bowdoin College; Ebenezer Porter, president of Andover Theological Seminary; and Zephaniah Swift Moore, president of Williams College and the first president of Amherst.

From these three catalogues we learn that 339 members were living in the United States outside of New England and sixteen in foreign countries. More than half, 165, were living in New York State; in other States, as follows: New Jersey, 13; Pennsylvania, 28; Delaware, 3; Maryland, 10;

District of Columbia, 10; Virginia, 13; North Carolina, 12; South Carolina, 41; Georgia, 10; Ohio, 11; Indiana, 1; Michigan, 1; Kentucky, 9; Tennessee, 4; Alabama, 1; Mississippi, 3; Louisiana, 4; Iowa, 1.

In other countries: Upper Canada, 1; Lower Canada, 1; New Brunswick, 1; England, 4; France, 4; Germany, 1; West Indies, 2; and India, 2.

This wide distribution of members has significance. Members far away could do little to strengthen the Society, for responsibility rested on those who lived where the Alphas were located. However, not a few were connected with colleges, and the Society's name rapidly became widely known.

During the period to 1818, Phi Beta Kappa had arranged ninety-three public assemblies, twenty-nine at Yale, thirty-seven at Harvard and twenty-seven at Dartmouth, at which addresses or orations on pertinent subjects and fourteen poems had been presented. Of these, twenty orations and thirteen poems had been printed. The twelve catalogues published showed the extent of its growing membership. It was the only society in American education with branches in several colleges, bound together by a common name, common insignia, and common purposes. It had continued in those colleges by encouraging and rewarding moral character and scholarly activities. Only institutions of approved standards of scholarship could hope for charters. It acted with unusual deliberation partly because it had no established constitution, no common method of publicity and held no conventions.

Anniversary Meetings

At Harvard and at Dartmouth anniversaries were observed shortly after those branches were instituted. At Harvard, September 5 remained the date until 1789. Since 1792 it has been the day following the commencement. For ten years this was the third Thursday in July; then, for nearly half a century, it was the last Thursday in August (on two occasions on September 1). After 1849, for two decades it occurred again on the third Thursday of July; since 1876, it has been observed on a Thursday near the end of June. At Dartmouth the anniversaries were held during the third week in August until 1834, and thereafter for nearly half a century during the corresponding week in July.

Anniversaries at Yale

The Alpha at Yale had been organized on November 13, 1780. Soon after 1787 the first Thursday in December was chosen as anniversary date, and with occasional exceptions was so observed for nearly half a

century. To these anniversaries members in New Haven were invited, with the privilege of bringing guests who remained through the literary exercises. A business meeting concluded the evening. Tutors were chosen as orators. Unfortunately few of these were given credit in the published lists. A few manuscripts were requested for the archives, but none have been preserved. Refreshments added to the popularity of these anniversaries. After 1793 toasts were given. Here is the first list:

The Phi Beta Kappa
May genius be attended with purity of morals
The Progress of Science
Yale College
The President of the United States

Of the anniversary of 1794, postponed until January 6, 1795, Isaac Lewis, secretary, wrote:

"The Members of the Alpha of Connecticut attended by the Hon. Judges of the Superior Court and a large number of other respectable Gentlemen, convened at the State House, for the purpose of celebrating the Anniversary of the establishment of the ΦBK Society. An elegant oration was pronounced by Mr. Tutor Gould on the Origin and Primitive Improvement of Historical Records, together with a variety of miscellaneous reflections relative to their influence on the human character and the early state of Society. To this succeeded some refreshment previously provided by a Committee of the Society and the following toasts were drunk:

1. The general diffusion of Historical Knowledge—Given by the Pres. of the Society	[Mr. Elizur Goodrich]
2. Progress of Science	Dr. Dana
3. The ΦBK Society	Parson Hubbard
4. Our Brethren of the Alphas of Massachusetts and New Hampshire	President
5. The University of Yale	Tutor Gould
6. The three liberal Professions—may they ever be distinguished by Liberty and Virtue	Tutor Stebbins
7. The Orator of the Evening	Tutor Linsly
8. May the Alpha of Connecticut continue till the Omega of all existence	Mr. Ball, a brother from the Alpha of New Hampshire
9. May the members of the ΦBK ever tread in the paths of Science and dance to the music of Liberty	Mr. C. Chauncey."

After recording the election of officers, of orator and poet for the next anniversary, and after action taken to recover the Book of Registry, carried by the former Register to Georgia, the secretary concluded: "Voted that Mr. Simeon Baldwin, Tutor Stebbins and Tutor Linsly be a committee for the purpose of continuing the history of the Society down to the present time.

"Friendship and Hilarity crowned the Meeting."

What the members did about recovering the records we do not know.

In 1797 it was voted to have a cake as well as wine at the anniversary. The diary of Benjamin Silliman, December 21, 1796, reads:

"After supper I went to attend the anniversary of ΦBK Society. Almost all the principal gentlemen of the town were present. Mr. Tutor S— delivered an oration upon the importance of virtue. The oration was short and I think was ton a yrev yranidroartxe eno.[1] For my part I can say that I was detnioppasid ni a hgih eerged. After the oration we were served with Sherry wine and plum cake. A number of toasts were drank, some humorous stories were told etc, and the invited gentlemen retired. After transacting some business the Society drank the remainder of the wine, sung songs, etc. and broke up about ten. I am very glad that anniversaries do not return oftener than once in a year. After such surfeits I am always sick. I got into bed at eleven, and think that my evening might have been spent more agreeably and more profitably, at least as to my purse."

On December 5, 1805, the secretary wrote:

"At 7 the Society walked in procession to the Brick Meeting House where they were entertained by a very ingeniously written oration, delivered by Mr. John Hall [1802]. The subject was Taste, and it was really a 'tasty' piece of composition. . . . After the elderly gentlemen had retired Mr. Tutor Hoadley motioned that a song might be heard. Singing was introduced, and the remainder of the evening was spent *a la mode.*"

Thereafter less effort was made to prepare for literary exercises at the anniversaries, which were continued, however, for the election of officers and the transaction of important business. By reason of them the Society's anniversary date was perpetuated.

Incidents which led the Alpha at Yale in 1787 to hold a meeting at commencement have been recounted. Two orators were appointed but only one, Simeon Baldwin, responded. Though President Bidwell was directed to publish in the public papers the substance of the arrangements for this meeting, no notice or account has been found. From that time similar meetings were held with an orator, and sometimes a poet. In time they became public and were designated annual meetings. The business

[1] To be read backward.

meeting for members was held at the State House, the public meeting in the Brick Meeting House or in Center Church. For a time these were held, as at Harvard, on the day after commencement; from 1814, on the day before commencement.

These annual meetings grew in importance. The orators who were selected added distinction, for they spoke in English and made a more popular appeal than the formal commencement exercises, which were often partially presented in foreign languages. The members came from a broader area and gave the business sessions increasing importance. The records of these annual meetings are less complete than records of similar meetings at Harvard, and less attention was given to dinners which were held occasionally. They helped to continue interest in the Society and to enhance its reputation.

The method of the selection of orators and poets has not been preserved in records. This is in contrast with the record at Dartmouth, where elections, declinations and substitutions were often noted in the minutes. The orator failed to appear on only a few occasions. Subjects discussed were not usually set down; some are known from the published orations.

Anniversaries at Dartmouth

Immediately after the organization at Dartmouth two of its members, John Quincy Adams reports, attended the anniversary meeting at Harvard. Thereafter they encouraged arrangements for similar gatherings at Dartmouth. The day before the commencement was usually selected, and in 1791 the public was invited to hear an oration by Josiah Dunham, president of the Alpha. Of this the secretary wrote: "The Society convened and proceeded in regular order to the Chapel, where in the presence of a numerous and respectable audience, an elegant oration was delivered, . . . after which it repaired to Holden's chamber, partook of a splendid entertainment while every heart was filled with friendship."

The attendance of members could not have been large, but there was no question of their enthusiasm. Of the poem presented by John Warren Brackett in 1803, Daniel Webster wrote: "Zeke says that Brackett gave a poem to the Φ B K which was really dulce, full of 'grit' as Corey used to say. It will be published."

The secretary described this poem as "very correct and highly ingenious," and stated that the Society gave the speaker a vote of thanks and requested a copy for publication. The members "partook of an elegant and splendid entertainment," and "after drinking a few appropriate toasts and enjoying for a while the feast of reason and flow of soul," brought their eighteenth anniversary to a close.

In 1807, when Daniel Webster was orator, an orator and a poet were chosen for the next anniversary. Only Philip Carrigan of 1794 appeared. He "pronounced an elegant and ingenious poem before a crowded and splendid audience," for which he was thanked and a committee was appointed "to solicit a copy for publication." However, no copy has been found.

On the twenty-seventh anniversary, August 22, 1815, the Society "proceeded to the meetinghouse, where an able prayer was made and an excellent oration was delivered by Richard Fletcher, Esq., and a beautiful and much-applauded poem by Mr. Nathaniel Wright." Copies were requested for publication, but both performers declined, although they permitted their compositions to be deposited in the archives.

The anniversary of 1819, six months after the decision of the Dartmouth College case, was of unusual importance. Rejoicing was universal. "While the number present, seemed to give strength and respectability to the Society, a luster was thrown around it by the presence of him who had so dextrously and so successfully wielded the Aegis of the Law."

Anniversaries at Harvard

Anniversaries at Harvard came into early prominence. John Quincy Adams's diary bears testimony, as well as his letter to the Alpha of Connecticut. The diary has the following entry:

"Friday, September 5th, 1788. The assembly at the anniversary of Phi Beta Kappa was more numerous than I have known it. There were near forty members present, among whom were two from Dartmouth College. . . . The Governor happening to be here with the Admiral, and some Officers of the French Squadron, now in Boston Harbour, honored us with his presence, as did all the College Officers. I spoke the oration which is hereto annexed, after which we retired to the Butler's Chamber; the French Consul, who had likewise attended, came there to compliment me. After doing what business was necessary, we all went down to Warland's and dined together, and the festive board crowned the enjoyment of friendship."

Two weeks later Hezekiah Packard, vice-president, wrote:

"We anticipate your congratulations that we have the kind and active patronage of the Government of the University. At our late Anniversary, Brothers of each profession came to share the social and commemorating joys of the day, within the pale of decency and decorum. The oration was pronounced in presence of all the Governors of the College. His excellency, and the French Consul together with the Officers of the Fleet, being in town, likewise honored us with their attendance.

"When we consider these flattering circumstances and at the same time the unanimity, freedom and general deportment of the members, we are more inclined to lessen, in the opinion of other students, the advantages of the Society as an object of envy, than to magnify them as an object of ambition."

The secretary's record, extended and equally enthusiastic, after mentioning the "elegant dinner," concluded: "After partaking of this rich repast, and smoaking awhile the Calumet of friendship, the meeting was adjourned by the most cordial mutual good wishes for the grandeur and glory of the ΦBK, and the individual prosperity of each of its members."

Until 1798, the minutes of anniversary meetings were copied in order in the regular book of minutes; thereafter the corresponding secretary wrote the record "in a special book now unfortunately lost. This book covered the period 1799 to 1825. From 1826 to the present day the record is complete." The loss of this book is mitigated in part by printed orations and poems, by newspaper references, and by the diary of Rev. Dr. John Pierce, class of 1793, of Brookline, who attended every Harvard Commencement but one from 1803 to 1848 and wrote entertainingly about them. The diary may be seen in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

A few quotations will show that Phi Beta Kappa at Harvard was growing in reputation and importance.

This was written in 1792: "The Society proceeded in the usual order to the Chapel where an elegant oration 'On the Destructive Consequences of War,' eminently combining the beauties of language and sublimity of sentiment, was delivered by Brother Henry Dana Ward. . . . The Society then returned to Mr. Warland's, liberally to indulge in the Feast of Friendship and offer those libations to harmony and joy usually given on this celebrated Anniversary."

In 1794, after an oration by Josiah Quincy and a poem by Charles Coffin, an "elegant repast" followed. A few of the sixteen toasts then drunk are noted:

"A warm heart and a cultivated understanding to every member of the ΦBK.

"May we be as distinguished in excellence as in friendship.

"May the ingenuity of a Coffin and the oratorical fire of a Quincy ever live in the ΦBK.

"May Philosophy be placed at the pinnacle, and Reason and Justice at the helm of the ΦBK."

The following year the secretary concluded: "Appetite satiated, sociability tempered by the strictest friendship, poised in its zenith, supported

by good sense and refined humor, feasted. The Society dissolved the present anniversary meeting."

At the fifteenth anniversary in 1796, "An ingenious, elegant and spirited oration was delivered by Brother Timothy Bigelow, Esq., on the Principles and Beneficial Effects of this Institution," which pleased the "numerous and respectable audience." The orator asserted that the Society's initial purpose was to help insure to its members "success in the world by developing their ability, information and merit, and by cultivating a durable friendship. . . . Experience has confirmed the theory; and the utility of the scheme has equaled the expectation of its advocates."

The orator stated that although "our institution is now confined to a few Seminaries in this country; . . . what obstacle exists to its further extension, or even a communication of it to foreign universities? . . . Why shall we not instruct the species in the art of humanity and the science of universal friendship? Is this general diffusion of philanthropy mere chimera and extravagance? For what but the reality could be more grateful to benevolent minds than a confident anticipation that the whole world would become a common country to each individual, that mankind would be but one family, by practice as well as extraction, and thereby taste on earth the joy of heaven itself."

A minute of 1801 mentioning a subject which became acute at Yale, stated that when a "Committee reported that Mr. Porter would provide a good dinner at one dollar for each member, that the price of his wine would be Madeira $1, per bottle, Lisbon and Sherry 50 cents, and Port 66⅔ cents" the report was accepted.

Commenting on the anniversary of 1805, Pierce wrote:

"Met the Φ B K in the Chapel of Harvard University. At twelve the members walked in long procession to the meeting-house where Brother Harris of Dorchester prayed. Brother Benjamin Whitwell of Augusta delivered an Oration on Philosophy. Although there was such a numerous concourse of Brethren, but thirty of us dined together at Porter's. I asked the blessing. Brother Dehon returned thanks. Such was the extravagance exhibited in giving $70 for the theatrical musicians, who were a nuisance, and in paying for twenty five dinners which were not eaten, that I now feel resolved never to dine with the Society again. Expenses to each one was $5.70."

Pierce did not hesitate to write his mind if the performances were not to his full satisfaction. In 1811 the "exercises were introduced with a short and very pertinent prayer" by Rev. Horace Holley, Yale 1803.

After this came a poem by Dr. Jacob Bigelow on the "Difficulties of a Professional Life, admirably pourtrayed but miserably delivered." Pierce

"did not dine with the Society" but afterwards was told "that Sawney Biglow, so called, and Baldwin exhibited great humour in Hudibrastick and Pindarick strains."

At the anniversary of 1812, according to Pierce, "the audience was larger and more respectable than a similar occasion has ever attracted." The poet was Edward Everett, who had been graduated but a year before, and was then only a little more than eighteen years old. Of his poem on "American Poets," George Ticknor, historian and professor at Harvard, reported in an address before the Massachusetts Historical Society, in 1865, that "it was received with an applause which in some respects I have never known equaled. . . .

"It is written in the versification consecrated by the success of Dryden and Pope; and, if it contains lines marked by the characteristics of the early age at which it was produced, there is yet a power in it, a richness of thought, and a graceful finish, of which probably few men at thirty would have been found capable. At any rate, in the hundred and more years during which verse had then been printed in these Colonies and States, not two hundred pages, I think, can now be found, which can be read with equal interest and pleasure."

The anniversary year of 1824 was made memorable by the presence of General Lafayette and his suite, who were invited to the oration and banquet. The exercises were an hour late, awaiting Lafayette's arrival. Pierce wrote that "The procession to the meetinghouse consisted of 264 members of the Society. There was doubtless already in the house enough to make the whole number 300 members."

We do not know how many were members of the other Alphas. Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., read a poem which Pierce characterized, "an ingenious versification of two dreams, both of a patriotick bearing," which took fifteen minutes. The opening prayer had been of five minutes' duration.

"Professor Edward Everett then delivered an oration of an hour and fifty-one minutes on the 'Means of Intellectual Improvement Furnished by the Condition and Prospects of the United States.' Long as it was, and crowded as was the house to overflowing, no uneasiness was evinced by a single individual. The address at the close to LaFayette exceeded anything we have heard, and drew tears from almost every eye. Not a single recurrence to his notes.

"After the exercises about 200 dined together in University Hall. For the first time we deviated from our practice, in favor of our distinguished guest, in inviting some to dine with us who were not of the Society. Rev. H. Ware, Jr., asked the blessing, and Dr. Lowell returned thanks.

"After dinner there was one continual expression of wit and genius and good sense in the toasts and sentiments, which were delivered from

the Chair, and from numberless volunteers who contributed to the entertainment of the company. It was a rare collection of eminent literary men."

A memorandum of "some of the Toasts at the Φ B K given from memory" was found in the papers of Charles F. Bradford of Boston. It reads as follows:

By the Pres. Judge Story. Our distinguished guest LaFayette,—He reads his history in a nation's eyes.

By LaFayette. This Antient University; this Literary Society. This Holy Alliance of Learning and Virtue and Patriotism is more than a match for any coalition against the rights of mankind.

By Gov. Brooks. Letters, the Alpha and Omega of excellence. Education makes the man.

By Willard Peele. That devotedness to the cause of civil Liberty, which overlooks the boundaries of nations.

By Gen. Sullivan. Venus, Apollo and the Muses who have this day done honor to Mars.

By LaFayette's son, G. W. F. This happy country, whose history and examples illustrate continually the duties of a patriot son.

By Prof. Everett. Our distinguished guest was educated at the College of Louis Le Grand. We have seen something of the pupil; we may therefore judge of the Institution. The Professors of the College of Louis Le Grand.

By Mr. Quincy. Genius, whose dreams by night are our visions of glory by day.

By John Gray. The Orator of the Day; a practical illustration of what he preaches. American Poetry; none the worse for Ware.

Volunteer. The good City of Boston; her health is still good tho' she has had the Quincy above two years.

By Mr. Quincy. Our City Government, which while it enlarges men's powers sharpens men's wits.

Volunteer. The Mayor of the City of Boston. While he remains in our company we will guarantee him against all fines and forfeitures.

By Mr. Q. Our wits, who ride our $\frac{\text{mares}}{\text{mayors}}$ as they ride cock horses.

By do. *The Story* of this day. The Phi Beta Kappa; all the better for its *Attic Story.*

Our Brother Kirkland—tho' a bachelor, he is very happy in his children.

Brother Kirkland and Brother Kirkland's wife; a physical anomaly, who bears but once a year.

Our Alma Mater; a good mother but a sorry jade of a wife.

The memory of Washington; the friend of America, the friend of America's friend, the friend of the world.

The memory of Lord Byron; the generous and disinterested friend of Grecian Liberty; Nil de mortuis nisi bonum. Say nothing of the dead but what is good.

The good ship Cadmus—which came freighted with thankfulness and joy for ten million consignees.

A Grammatical toast—LaFayette. "Indeclinabilis in omnibus casibus, semper idem." That is, Unwavering in all conditions; always the same.

By Mr. De Ponceau—The Poet of the Day, who sung so well what we all feel so much.

Mr. Webster; a second Daniel come to judgment.

Thus was brought to a close Phi Beta Kappa's forty-second anniversary at Harvard. The poem and the oration were at once published.

In 1801 the Alpha at Harvard first invited one not of its own membership to take part in the anniversary exercises—David Everett, as poet. Then in 1821 William Cullen Bryant was poet; in 1827 Rev. Orville Dewey was elected as orator, with Grenville Mellen the poet. In 1833 a poet, member of the Alpha of Maine, was presented—Henry Wadsworth Longfellow; two years later another Bowdoin poet was honored—Ephraim Peabody. In 1836, the orator, not a member at Harvard, was the Rev. Francis Wayland, president of Brown University, on whose application a charter for Brown had been voted seven years earlier. During the next half century eighteen orators and nine poets who were not members of the Alpha were selected. All not connected elsewhere were made honorary members at the time of their appointment or appearance as orator or poet.

The anniversary of 1824, with Lafayette as a guest (which has been described above), was of unusual historical importance. In 1833, Edward Everett was again the orator, with Henry Wadsworth Longfellow as poet. The next year Ralph Waldo Emerson was poet. In 1837 he pronounced his now famous oration, "The American Scholar." Because of the great importance of that occasion to Phi Beta Kappa history as well as to the literary history of America, we are including, with the author's permission, part of Bliss Perry's reconstruction of the day, the man, and the address.

Bliss Perry's Account of Emerson's Oration

Let us go upon a literary pilgrimage. The shrine which we are to visit is sacred in the memory of scholars, although Mr. Howells, with dispassionate candor, once described it as the ugliest spot in the Universe of God. It is Harvard Square. Eighty-six years ago—or, to be precise, on August 31, 1837, Phi Beta Kappa day—it was not without a certain

tranquil, rural beauty. Great elms shadowed the little green, in whose center stood a town pump quite after the taste of Hawthorne—although very few Phi Beta Kappa men chose to utilize it on anniversary days, to the scandal of the water-drinking minority. Northwestward from the Square runs the broad road to Lexington and Concord, and on the left, opposite the low-fenced Harvard Yard, is the meeting-house of the First Parish. . . .

Here, then, is our shrine, a plain wooden meeting-house in a country village, built big enough for the modest needs of Harvard University on its anniversary occasions. Let us march toward it in the procession of our Phi Beta Kappa brethren, two hundred and fifteen strong, starting at twelve o'clock precisely from University Hall, in the middle of the Harvard Yard. Preceded by a band of music and the dark-gowned undergraduates members emerge from the Yard, cross the road—the dust has been laid by the unwonted rain of the previous day—and halt in front of the meeting-house. The undergraduates open to the right and left, and the president of Phi Beta Kappa, the secretary, chaplain, orator, and poet enter in that order, followed by the members, two and two, according to seniority. Brother John Pierce, D.D., of Brookline (Harvard, 1793), indefatigable attendant and note-taker of Harvard anniversaries, will describe the occasion—an epoch-making occasion, although he did not suspect it.

For, let me warn you, before quoting his record of Phi Beta Kappa's most famous day, that the excellent Brother Pierce has a blind spot in those shrewd old eyes of his, and that his mind is beautifully fortified against doctrines which he disapproves. In that unhappy division of the Congregational churches which had absorbed so much of the attention of New England for thirty years, Dr. Pierce stands for Orthodoxy, and year by year, at Harvard Commencements, he has found himself in an ever-diminishing minority. He computes the reckoning annually, and only yesterday, on August 30, 1837, he has discovered that among Harvard graduates in the active ministry there are one hundred and twelve Liberals to but fifty-one of the Orthodox. Like every true New Englander, no doubt, he felt that the growing unpopularity of his opinions was the best confirmation of their soundness. His passion for oratory never abated, though he lived to attend sixty-four Commencements, but from the beginning to the end of his career, Brother Pierce was suspicious of every intellectual or spiritual novelty.

Aside from this air-tight characteristic of the good man's mind, he is an admirable critic. He sums up Brother Pipon's Phi Beta Kappa Oration of 1803 in one line: it "consisted of miscellaneous and severely critical remarks on Man." I seem to have heard Brother Pipon's oration myself!

Dr. Pierce usually characterizes the prayers with which the Phi Beta Kappa ceremonies opened. They are "appropriate," or "pertinent," or "pertinent and judicious," or, at least, "4 minutes" long, or "12½ minutes" long; but I regret to say that, in 1804, when Emerson's father—a well known Liberal—acted as chaplain, Brother Pierce contented himself by recording: "Dr. Emerson then prayed." In 1836 he is still watching the Chaplain with the ear of a heresy hunter: "The Rev. George Ripley (Harvard, 1823) offered an elaborate prayer of 13 minutes elegantly composed and expressed. In my mind it was deficient in not giving sufficient prominence to the name which is above every name." Dr. Pierce's instinct was justified by the event: two years later, George Ripley will be found defending Emerson's "Divinity School Address"!

The good Doctor, in short, had, like all of us, the defects of his qualities, as a listener to poetry and oratory. He confesses it with admirable frankness. In 1811 he notes: "John Stickney, Esquire, delivered an oration, of three quarters of an hour, on The Qualifications of a Statesman. Through the course of it I reproached myself with the obtuseness of my faculties, as there was so large a portion of it of which I could not form the trace of a conception. But on mentioning my difficulty to intelligent men, I found that I was not alone. In short, I could compare it to nothing more striking than a dark night now and then enlightened by flashes of lightning." . . .

But while you and I have thus been lingering over the mental peculiarities of the Reverend Doctor John Pierce, the black-coated procession is pushing steadily into the crowded church and up the aisles to the seats of honor. As the band plays its opening voluntary, you may look if you like, upon the captains of Israel in their high places. There is President Josiah Quincy (Harvard, 1790), a vigorous gentleman of sixty-five, the fire of his youthful congressional eloquence already half forgotten.

Among the Fellows of the Harvard Corporation, you will note two of the foremost lawyers of the Commonwealth, Joseph Story and Lemuel Shaw. Among the Overseers one seeks instinctively for the well-known faces of John Quincy Adams and the great Dr. Channing and the "God-like" Daniel Webster. No need to point out the last, in any assembly of New Englanders; you have but to follow the eyes of the crowd. But perhaps these Overseers are absent today—since the Phi Beta Kappa orator is only a stickit-minister from Concord, author of an anonymous, unintelligible, and unsold little book on "Nature"!

The Faculty of Harvard College are no doubt in their places, as in duty bound, unwearied by the prolonged Commencement exercises of the previous day. The last name upon the Faculty list this year is that of the

half-crazed, half-inspired tutor of Greek, Jones Very, of Salem, poet, who is known to idolize the orator. There are "the stern old war gods" of the Divinity School, the Henry Wares, Father and son, and J. G. Palfrey, who a year later are to shake their heads in awful but belated protest against Waldo Emerson's astounding utterance to their own pupils, in their very chapel. There is Andrews Norton, now retired from his professorship to the watchful leisure of Shady Hill. Just twenty years ago, as Librarian of Harvard College, he had allowed "Emerson 4th" of the Freshman class, "President Kirkland's Freshman"—a sedate, silent youth—to draw books of Hume and Priestley and other eighteenth century thinkers; and here is that very Freshman ready now to utter doctrines which Andrews Norton is soon to characterize as "The Latest Form of Infidelity." Let the Wares and the Nortons listen closely this noon; if they do, they will at least be qualified to say in 1838: "I told you so! I knew it, when I heard his Phi Beta Kappa address!" . . .

And now the music of the brass band blares out into silence at last, and the great audience hushes itself. The Reverend Mr. Rogers of Boston offers a prayer which wins the full approval of Brother Pierce, being "singularly devout, short and appropriate." Then, introduced by the President of the Society, rises the speaker of the day.

Let us look at him as he was then—and with the eyes of that audience —not as we know him now in marble and bronze, gleaming with the serene light of earthly immortality. He is a tall, thin man of thirty-four, with sloping shoulders, a man born, you would say, like his ancestors for seven generations, to wear black. His face is asymmetrical. Seen from one side, it is that of a shrewd New England farmer; from the other, it is a face of a seer, a

> Prophetic soul of the wide world
> Dreaming on things to come.

The cheeks are fresh-colored, like those of all the Emersons. The thin hair is brown. The eyes are deep blue, with violet lights. He stoops a trifle as he arranges his manuscript upon the pulpit. His manner, though slightly constrained, is suave and courteous. No one in that church, as the Reverend Mr. Emerson pronounced the conventional words "Mr. President and Gentlemen," doubts for a moment his ability to deliver an acceptable discourse. Indeed, he had delivered the Phi Beta Kappa poem, three years before. He belonged, as Dr. Holmes said afterward, to the academic races. This is no amateur, but a professional. . . .

I fancy that the Harvard professors watch the speaker with a curious and perhaps patronizing interest. He owed them little enough. . . .

If the professors in Harvard College looked askance at Emerson that

day, surely the professors of the Divinity School could have done no less. . . . What are his chances of triumphing? I do not believe that his friend Henry Ware, Jr., much as he liked Emerson personally, thought that he had one chance in a thousand. But we talk too much about chances: one chance is enough, if you have the right moment and the man. "All that a man ought to ask for in life," said the French etcher Meryon, "is the chance to put himself into his plates." That supreme felicity was Emerson's, in that August noontide of long ago. He put himself into the oration on "The American Scholar."

I do not say that he won everybody in that packed meeting-house. Certainly he did not convince our hard-headed Brother John Pierce, sitting there on a front seat immovable and unconvincible—watch in hand. Listen to his impression of the address; but listen respectfully, for he is an honest man, and he utters the verdict of the older generation:

"Rev. Ralph Waldo Emerson gave an oration, of 1¼ hour, on The American Scholar. It was to me in the misty, dreamy, unintelligible style of Swedenborg, Coleridge, and Carlyle. He professed to have method; but I could not trace it, except in his own annunciation. It was well spoken, and all seemed to attend, but how many were in my own predicament of making little of it I have no means of ascertaining. Toward the close, and indeed in many parts of his discourse, he spoke severely of our dependence on British literature. Notwithstanding, I much question whether he himself would have written such an apparently incoherent and unintelligible address, had he not been familiar with the writings of the authors above named. He had already, in 1834, delivered a poem before the Society."

And now farewell to Brother Pierce—though he lives to attend eleven more meetings of the Society. The good man had his chance, too!

I must call three other witnesses to the effect of the oration, familiar to many of you as their testimony may be. Let us hear first a clever young Boston doctor, son of the minister of the First Church in Cambridge and brought up in its gambrel-roofed parsonage. He was the pet and the glory of the class of 1829. He had delighted the Phi Beta Kappa Society with his poem in 1836. He is not yet the "Autocrat," but he knows his own mind and the mind of the younger generation. Oliver Wendell Holmes testifies:

"The grand Oration was our intellectual Declaration of Independence. Nothing like it had been heard in the halls of Harvard since Samuel Adams supported the affirmative of the question, 'Whether it be lawful to resist the chief magistrate, if the commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved.' It was easy to find fault with an expression here and there.

The dignity, not to say the formality of an Academic assembly was startled by the realism that looked for the infinite in 'the meal in the firkin; the milk in the pan.' They could understand the deep thoughts suggested by 'the meanest flower that blows,' but these domestic illustrations had a kind of nursery homeliness about them which the grave professors and sedate clergymen were unused to expect on so stately an occasion. But the young men went out from it as if a prophet had been proclaiming to them 'Thus saith the Lord.' No listener ever forgot that Address, and among all the novel utterances of the speaker it may be questioned if one ever contained more truth in language more like that of immediate inspiration."

Let us next call to the witness stand the other Cambridge boy whom we have already noted in the audience—the reckless, irreverent "Jamie" Lowell of 1837; sober enough now when he gives his testimony, and it is the testimony, you will remember, of one of the few genuine critics whom America has produced:

"The Puritan revolt had made us ecclesiastically and the Revolution politically independent, but we were socially and intellectually moored to English thought, till Emerson cut the cable and gave us a chance at the dangers and glories of blue water. No man young enough to have felt it can forget or cease to be grateful for the mental and moral nudge which he received from the writings of his high-minded and brave-spirited countryman. . . . His oration before the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Cambridge, some thirty years ago, was an event without any former parallel in our literary annals, a scene to be always treasured in the memory for its picturesqueness and its inspiration. What crowded and breathless aisles, what windows clustering with eager heads, what enthusiasm of approval, what grim silence of foregone dissent! It was our Yankee version of a lecture by Abélard, our Harvard parallel to the last public appearances of Schelling."

Finally, lest you may think that the mere spell of the orator's spoken word charmed such hearers as Holmes and Lowell into an unreasoning discipleship, listen to an opinion from across the water, by a Scotchman who called no man, save Goethe, master, and who read Emerson's speech in the vast solitude of London town. Thomas Carlyle wrote:

"My Friend! You know not what you have done for me there. It was long decades of years that I heard nothing but the infinite jangling and jabbering, and inarticulate twittering and screeching, and my soul had sunk down sorrowful, and said there is no articulate speaking then any more, and thou art solitary among stranger-creatures? and lo, out of the West comes a clear utterance, clearly recognizable as a *man's* voice, and I have a kinsman and brother: God be thanked for it! I could have *wept*

to read that speech; the clear high melody of it went tingling through my heart; I said to my wife, 'There, Woman!' She read; and returned, and charges me to return for answer, 'that there has been nothing met with like it since Schiller went silent.' My brave Emerson! And all this has been lying silent, quite tranquil in him, these seven years, and the 'vociferous platitude,' dinning his ears on all sides, and he quietly answering no word; and a whole world of Thought has silently built itself in these calm depths, and, the day being come, says quite softly, as if it were a common thing, 'Yes, I *am* here too.' Miss Martineau tells me, 'Some say it is inspired, some say it is mad.' Exactly so; no *say* could be suitabler. But for you, my dear friend, I say and pray heartily; may God grant you strength; for you have a *fearful* work to do! Fearful I call it; and yet it is great, and the greatest."

Many readers still imagine that Emerson's address had the advantage of a new theme. It did not. His subject, "The American Scholar," had been a conventional theme of Phi Beta Kappa orations ever since he was a boy. The records at Harvard prove this fact, beyond dispute. . . . In fact, such discussions of the duties and opportunities of the American Scholar were not confined to academic occasions. In 1831, Dr. William Ellery Channing had printed in the "Christian Examiner" his famous article on "National Literature." "In an age of great intellectual activity," he maintains, "we rely chiefly for intellectual excitement and enjoyment on foreign minds; nor is our own mind felt abroad. . . . We believe that a literature springing up in this new soil would bear new fruits. . . . Juster and profounder views of man may be expected here than elsewhere. In Europe political and artificial distinctions have, more or less, triumphed over and obscured our common nature. . . . Man is not hidden from us by so many disguises as in the Old World. . . ." Yet, as a means toward securing this new and native literature, Dr. Channing recommends "to our educated men a more extensive acquaintance with the intellectual labors of Continental Europe. Our reading is confined too much to English books, and especially to the more recent publications of Great Britain." Quickened by this contact with the Continental mind, power will pass increasingly, not into the hands of government, but into the hands of those who think and write. Thomas Carlyle, in that very year, was dreaming the same flattering dream.

You will thus perceive that when the Reverend R. W. Emerson announced in 1837 that his subject was to be "The American Scholar," the Cambridge audience could settle back comfortably in their seats, knowing pretty well what was coming—as you and I do when we listen to a

Christmas or an Easter sermon. And I do not need to add that the comfortable Cambridge audience guessed wrong.

What was it, after all, that Emerson said, upon his hackneyed theme? What was it that puzzled the elders, and entranced the youth, and sowed the seeds of division? At the Phi Beta Kappa dinner in University Hall, following the exercises in the church—a dinner too Bacchanalian, alas, for the taste of Brother John Pierce—Emerson was toasted in these words: "Mr. President, I suppose you all know where the orator came from; and I suppose all know what he said. I give you—the Spirit of Concord—*it makes us all of one mind.*" The pun was clever enough—as Phi Beta Kappa dinners go—but the well-meant compliment went very wide of the truth. Far from making them all of one mind, the man from Concord had sowed some discord—and Emerson, at least, knew it. At the Phi Beta Kappa dinner of the next year, he is aware, his Journal tells us, of the "averted faces," and the aversion dated from this very 31st of August, 1837—it had only ripened by the summer of 1838 and the "Divinity School Address." What had he really uttered in this speech, which was no loving-cup, but a sword?

He had begun with decorous sentences, quiet and clear as the daylight. His very subject, he admits, is prescribed by the occasion. But before one knows it, he is making his first distinction, namely, that Man, in being divided into Men, has suffered, has become a thing—a farmer, let us say, instead of Man on the farm. Now the Scholar should be *Man Thinking*, not a mere thinker, or, still worse, the parrot of other men's thinking. What are the influences which the scholar receives?

There are three main influences: Nature, the Past—typified by Books—and Action.

First, then, Nature. "Every day, the sun; and, after sunset, Night and her stars. Ever the winds blow; ever the grass grows." But the scholar must ask what all this means. What *is* Nature? And then comes the puzzling Emersonian answer, already expressed in that little blue-covered unsold book of the year before: Nature is the opposite of the soul, answering to it part for part. (I can fancy Brother John Pierce looking at his watch. Ten minutes gone, and is this nonsense about Nature what we came into the meeting-house to hear?)

But the orator, after these cryptic paragraphs about Nature, is already touching the second influence upon the spirit of the scholar—namely, the Past, or, let us say for convenience, Books. (I imagine that Brother Pierce looks relieved. Books? He has been hearing Phi Beta Kappa talk about books for forty years. It is a safe subject. And yet what is it that the

minister from Concord seems to be saying now?) The theory of books is noble, but each age must write its own books. It is the act of creation that is sacred, not the record. The poet chanting was felt to be a divine man: henceforth the chant is divine also. Instantly the book becomes noxious; the guide is a tyrant, though colleges are built on it. (Can he mean the Bible, wonders Professor Ware? Yes, Professor Ware, he does mean the Bible, and he will say so in your own Divinity School upon the invitation of your own students, on the fifteenth of July next! Listen to him as he goes on!) The one thing in the world, of value, is the active soul. The book, the college, the institution of any kind, stop with some past utterance of genius. This is good, say they—let us hold by this. *They pin me down.* They look backward and not forward. Books are for the scholar's idle times. They serve us best when they aim, not to drill, but to create—when they set the hearts of youth on flame. (I should like to watch Professor Ned Channing's sarcastic face, as Waldo Emerson proclaims this doctrine: Waldo Emerson, who had proved himself in college neither drillable nor inflammable!)

But the imperturbable orator of the day has now reached the third section of his address—the golden and serious age of American Rhetoric, and do not smile when Emerson argues that action enriches the scholar's vocabulary! It is pearls and rubies to his discourse! Life is our dictionary. But action is after all better than books. Character is higher than intellect. Thinking is a partial act. The scholar loses no hour which the man lives. Labor is sacred. There is virtue yet in the hoe and the spade even in unlearned hands. (I catch grave young Henry Thoreau smiling a little as Mr. Emerson utters this wholesome New England doctrine of manual labor;—for he has watched the minister trying to spade his new Concord garden, and making but a sorry job of it!)

It remains, concludes the speaker, to say something of the scholar's duties. They may all be comprised in self-trust. Let him not quit his belief that a pop-gun is a pop-gun, though the ancient and honorable of the earth affirm it to be the crack of doom. Let him be free and brave. The world is still fluid, still alive. *Men* count—not "the mass"—"the herd." The private life is the true kingdom. Act for yourself: the man has never lived that can feed us ever. (Professor Ware—stout old war-horse—pricks up his ears again!) But now the orator is sweeping on to his climax: This age of Revolution in which we are living is a very good age. Accept it: embrace the common, the familiar, the low. Burns and Wordsworth and Carlyle are right. Give me insight into to-day, and you may have the antique and future worlds. The important thing is the *single person. The man is all.*

Then follows the wonderful peroration, which you would never forgive me for not quoting word for word:

". . . Mr. President and Gentlemen, this confidence in the unsearched might of man belongs, by all motives, by all prophecy, by all preparation, to the American Scholar. We have listened too long to the courtly muses of Europe. The spirit of the American freeman is already suspected to be timid, imitative, tame: Public and private avarice make the air we breathe thick and fat. The scholar is decent, indolent and complaisant. See already the tragic consequence. The mind of this country, taught to aim at low objects, eats upon itself. There is no work for any but the decorous and the complaisant. Young men of the fairest promise, who begin life upon our shores, inflated by the mountain winds, shined upon by all the stars of God, find the earth below not in unison with these, but are hindered from action by the disgust, which the principles on which business is managed inspire, and turn drudges, or die of disgust, some of them suicides. What is the remedy? They did not yet see, and thousands of young men as hopeful now crowding to the barriers for the career do not yet see, that if the single man plant himself indomitably on his instincts, and there abide, the huge world will come round to him. Patience—patience; with the shades of all the good and great for company; and for solace the perspective of your own infinite life; and for work the study and the communication of principles, the making those instincts prevalent, the conversion of the world. Is it not the chief disgrace in the world, not to be an unit;—not to be reckoned one character;—not to yield that peculiar fruit which each man was created to bear, but to be reckoned in the gross, in the hundred, or the thousand, of the party, the section, to which we belong; and our opinion predicted geographically, as the north, or the south? Not so, brothers and friends—please God, ours shall not be so. We will walk on our own feet; we will work with our own hands; we will speak our own minds. The study of letters shall be no longer a name for pity, for doubt, and for sensual indulgence. The dread of man and the love of man shall be a wall of defence and a wreath of joy around all. A nation of men will for the first time exist, because each believes himself inspired by the Divine Soul which also inspires all men."

Phi Beta Kappa anniversaries were continued at Harvard without interruption for seventy years. Then in 1852 the orator was chosen by the Association of Harvard Alumni, and for each alternate year until 1864, when the earlier method was resumed. The business sessions, however, were not interrupted.

It is evident that these anniversaries, observed at three New England

colleges, helped greatly to enhance the reputation of the Society. No other society in American colleges could offer programs of comparable literary or social significance. The solidarity of the Society was also promoted by attendance at each other's anniversaries.

The Alpha of New York at Union College

The first request for a charter for Union College came in 1803 and was denied, but a second one, ten years later, was more cordially received.

Union College was removed from denominational control by a provision in its charter in 1795 that a majority of the trustees should not belong to any one Christian church. Three presidents guided the College through its first decade.

Then in 1804 Rev. Eliphalet Nott began a term of office which has no parallel in American college history, for he was president for nearly sixty-two years, until his death in 1866. Born to poverty and hard labor, Nott was self-educated. At twenty-one he became principal of Plainfield Academy in Connecticut, and after a year of study, in 1795 he requested Brown University to examine him for a degree. In September he passed all senior year tests with distinction. Since he had not spent even one day in college, the faculty gave this irregular student the honorary degree of Master of Arts, 1795, in his twenty-third year. In 1796 he was sent as a missionary to central New York, and became minister of a Presbyterian Church in Cherry Valley. Two years later, having accepted a call to the pastorate of the First Presbyterian Church in Albany, on his way thither he saw Union College for the first time. Nott's success in the ministry led to the offer of the presidency of Union College. A sermon against duelling, inspired by the death of Alexander Hamilton, had given him public attention. Though without experience in educational administration, he became a leader.

Union College was removed to the site it now occupies, the faculty was strengthened, and funds were raised by a lottery and subscriptions. When the second application for a charter of Phi Beta Kappa was made by members of the class of 1813, the average number of graduates was twenty-five. The College had passed the period of uncertainty.

The application is preserved at Yale, a copy at Dartmouth. It reads:

> Union College, Schenectady, July 1813
>
> To the honorable the Φ B K Society at Yale College—Greeting,
>
> We the undersigned, members of the Senior Class in Union College, anxious to benefit our Alma Mater, and to promote the general interests of Literature and Science in our young but promising Country, and believing it advantageous to cement by a

stronger bond of friendship and intimacy among sister institutions, do respectfully request of your honorable body a Charter, incorporating us a branch of your highly respectable Society. Trusting that such an association would here find a reputable support, we feel assured that your complyance, while it affords a proof of your liberality will do honor to our growing Institution.

John B. Staats	Guy W. Doane
George A. Shufeldt	Thomas Gifford Jun.
Lebbeus Booth	John Barnard Jun.
Jacob L. Lane	Samuel Van Orden
Charles Webster	Horace Goodrich
Nicholas F. Beck	James Dexter
George W. Warner	Wm. W. Philips.

This certifies that the above Subscribers are young gentlemen of unblemished moral characters and of respectable literary acquirements. That in the opinion of the Officers of Union College they are worthy to become members of the Society in question and that they have obtained permission to forward the foregoing application.

Eliphalet Nott, Pres.

At a meeting held at Hanover, August 24, it was "voted that Brothers William, Graves, and Cook be a committee to make inquiries respecting the situation and prospects of Union College and the propriety of granting them a charter and to report to the Secretary at the next meeting."

That day at five o'clock the committee's report was favorable to the petitioners, and "after a lengthy and highly interesting discussion the following resolution was submitted by Capt. [Josiah] Dunham [1789] and adopted nem. con."

"Resolved as the sense of the Alpha of New Hampshire that the prayer of the petitioners ought to be granted; and that the Corresponding Secretary be directed to communicate this decision to the other branches of the Society."

The action taken at Harvard is stated in two letters of the corresponding secretary, of which the second reads in part:

"At their anniversary, yesterday, the branch of the Φ B K in this place acted on the petition from Union College. In conformity to the report of their committee they resolved that *it was expedient* to extend the Φ B K to that institution and to grant a charter conformably to the petition. They directed the secretary to communicate this resolve to the other branches of the Society."

The Alpha at Yale acted less promptly. On September 18, 1816, the committee reported:

"That they had examined the records of former proceedings on similar applications from Brown University and Williams College and are satisfied that the reasons which prevented grants to those institutions do not operate to prevent a grant to Union College on the present petition.

"That they find that a similar request was preferred by Union College to the Alpha of Massachusetts in the year 1803, and by that Alpha rejected on the ground that the literary attainments ordinarily made at Union College were unequal to those usually made at colleges where Alphas were established.

"That the Present Petition has, however, been granted by the Alpha of Massachusetts, and also by the Alpha of New Hampshire.

"Wherefore, your committee are of the opinion that it is expedient to concur with the aforesaid Alphas and grant the prayer of the Petition by establishing, by charter bestowed jointly with the Alphas of Harvard and Dartmouth, an Alpha in Union College to be called the Alpha of the State of New York.

"Your Committee therefore beg leave to propose for the approbation of the Society the annexed Resolve.

"Resolved that this Alpha concur with the Alphas of Massachusetts and New Hampshire in granting a charter of Incorporation to Union College, Schenectady, and establishing an Alpha of the State of New York, with the same rights and privileges and under the same restrictions of the Alphas already existing.

"Resolved that the said charter of Incorporation be granted to Chancellor James Kent, the Rev. Andrew Yates, and the Rev. John Chester, and that the Corresponding Secretary prepare the form of said charter, and affix the Seal of the Society."

New Form of Charter for Union

The committee disregarded previous forms of the charter and drafted one on new lines. Though its text has been printed many times, it first appeared in facsimile in *The Phi Beta Kappa Key* for October, 1929.

James Kent, 1781, a member of the first Phi Beta Kappa class at Yale, had been the first professor of law at Columbia College. Since 1798 he had served as a member of the Supreme Court of New York, and was made Chief Justice in 1810. In 1814, he was appointed Chancellor, and became one of the most distinguished jurists of this country.

The text of the charter is as follows:

> Whereas by the concurring Resolves of the Alphas of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, it has been deemed expedient to establish in the State of New York, a branch of the

Φ B K, in connection with Union College; now therefore by virtue, and in pursuance of the aforesaid Resolves, we do hereby incorporate and establish you, the above named James Kent, Andrew Yates and John Chester with such others as you may associate with yourselves, in conformity with the Laws of the Φ B K herewith transmitted, into a separate and distinct Branch of said Society, to be known and called by the name of "The Alpha of New York." Hereby granting unto you, and your successors, all the powers and privileges and benefits thereunto appertaining, in as full and ample a manner, as we, or our Brethren of Massachusetts and New Hampshire enjoy the same. In testimony whereof, we have hereunto set our hands and affixed the Seal of the Society at New Haven this first day of May, Anno Domini, one thousand eight hundred and seventeen.

James L. Kingsley, President
Samuel J. Hitchcock, V-President
Roger S. Baldwin, Corresponding Secy.

The organization of the Alpha of New York is related in its first book of minutes.

"Commissioners to whom a charter for the Incorporation of the New York Alpha of Union College (Schenectady) was granted, met in the City of Albany, at the house of the Honorable James Kent, and proceeded to the business assigned them by appointment of the Alphas of Yale, Harvard and Dartmouth.

Chancellor Kent, in the Chair
John Chester, Secretary

"The charter was read, which duly authorized the Commissioners to act as the members of the New York Alpha. Resolved unanimously, that the following be elected as members of the Society: Eliphalet Nott, D.D., Thomas McAuley, LL.D., Thomas C. Brownell, A.M., John V. Henry, Harmanus Bleecker, Theodore R. Beck, Abraham Beck, A.M., Samuel Blatchford, D.D., Jonas Coe, D.D., Alexander Proudfit, D.D., Samuel Davis, A.M., Benjamin B. Wisner, A.M., and Walter Monteith, A.M. Six were alumni of the College and seven were elected to honorary membership."

The meeting adjourned for the reception of members "at the Philosophic Chamber of Union College on the evening previous to the Commencement—July 22d." The commissioners met at an earlier hour, and elected to membership John M. Bradford, D.D., Arthur Joseph Stansbury, A.M., and Robert Hudson, A.M., of the class of 1800, all citizens of Albany; and thirteen members of the class that was to graduate the

following day. Thus thirteen undergraduates, eight alumni, and eight others were offered membership at the foundation meeting.

At the session at 8 o'clock Chancellor Kent presided. "Mr. Chester read the Constitution and Professor Yates explained the medal."

Chancellor Kent gave an address to the members elect on the objects and importance of the institution, and they were initiated. The Alpha of New York was duly constituted. Messrs. Kent, Yates, and Chester having discharged their duty as commissioners, resigned their commission and took their seats as members.

After the election of Dr. Eliphalet Nott president, and Thomas McAuley secretary pro tem., the meeting adjourned.

On the intervening day occurred the twenty-first commencement of the College, the thirteenth at which Eliphalet Nott presided. Forty-three young men were graduated, thirteen of whom had been elected to membership; fourteen of the others were elected soon thereafter. At the adjourned meeting, three members-elect were initiated—Theodore Romeyn Beck, 1807, M.D., of Albany, Walter Monteith, 1811, a tutor, and one member of the class of 1817. Three graduates were elected, and four graduates, two of the class of 1817, were initiated. A little later twelve others of that class were elected.

After designating Rev. John Chester as orator for the succeeding anniversary, "Rev'd Professor Brownell his secundus," and after directing that the permanent officers be a committee to draw up a code of by-laws for the regulation of the Society, the meeting adjourned. Thus the Alpha of New York was fully organized, the first branch of Phi Beta Kappa to be located outside of New England since the days of the Virginia Society.

When the record book was prepared, a statement headed "The Origin and Progress of the Φ B K Society" was given first place. Its first paragraph was quoted from the document prepared at Yale in 1787. The error that the "Society was founded on the sixth day of December A. D. 1776" was repeated. The concluding paragraphs read:

"The Massachusetts and Connecticut Alphas instituted the Alpha of New Hampshire—the Virginia Alpha has been a long time extinct."

"On the first day of May One Thousand Eight Hundred and Seventeen, the 'Alpha of New York' was instituted by the concurring Resolutions of the Alphas of Connecticut, Massachusetts and New Hampshire."

Then followed a copy of the charter.

The term "instituted" was wrongly interpreted and May 1 given as the date of the organization of the Alpha of New York. The July day of the first meeting is not recorded, but organization was completed on July 22, 1817.

Constitution and Ritual at Union

In the book of records, the constitution was engrossed. It was approximately the same as adopted at Yale in 1787. It is headed:

CONSTITUTION OF THE ΦBK SOCIETY
UNION COLLEGE
MDCCCXVII

Following the constitution, a form of initiation, with a pen drawing of "the Sign of the Society in shaking hands," was engrossed. It follows in general the earlier form but in simpler language. Instead of the oath a "solemn promise" was required.

As this form of initiation was passed on to the half dozen branches authorized by the Alpha of New York, it is here quoted in full.

THE FORM OF INITIATION

The member or members-elect, shall be waited on to the door by a gentleman appointed for that purpose. Who after knocking and having the door opened from within, shall conduct them in, and direct them to a proper place. The members of the Society meanwhile rising and standing while the conductor addresses the Society as follows:

Mr. President—I introduce to the ΦBK Society, these gentlemen as members elect. Having been informed of their election, they have requested me to express their desire to be admitted to the honours, and privileges of the Society.

The members then sitting down, the President shall remain standing, and address the candidates as follows:

Gentlemen—being well assured of your talents and worth, we have elected you members of the Φ B K Society. But before you can be admitted to its privileges, you are to answer to the following questions.

Quest. 1st. If upon hearing the principles of this Institution you should dislike them and withdraw, do you engage, upon the honour of gentlemen, to keep them secret?

Ques. 2nd. If admitted to the privileges of this Society, will you approve yourselves worthy members, by encouraging Friendship, Morality, and Literature?

Ques. 3rd. Will you regard the members of this Society as Brethren?

Ques. 4th. Will you kindly assist them, if you should ever see any of them in distress?

They shall then be desired to sit and hear the Laws read by the

Secretary. And if they do not object to them, the President shall impose the following *Promise.*

You solemnly promise, that you will be true and faithful to this Society, that you will obey the laws, and preserve inviolate the secrets of the same.

After which the President shall explain the *medal* and signs, and address them as follows.

Gentlemen—we have now the pleasure to recognize you as *Brethren.* Such is the relation in which the members of the Φ B K Society are taught to regard each other. The great objects of our association are the cultivation of the social affections and advancement in literature. Pursuing these ends, our sister Societies in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire (Maine and Rhode Island) have rendered honourable the appellation of Φ B K. We charge you never to sully this well-merited reputation. Let your new relation incite you to diligence in the acquisition of knowledge and the cultivation of the social virtues. Let it be a stimulus to an honourable emulation while we have the pleasure of meeting together, and let it always constitute a strong bond of union when we are separated by our several stations in life.

After which the President shall turn, and thus address the members of the Society:

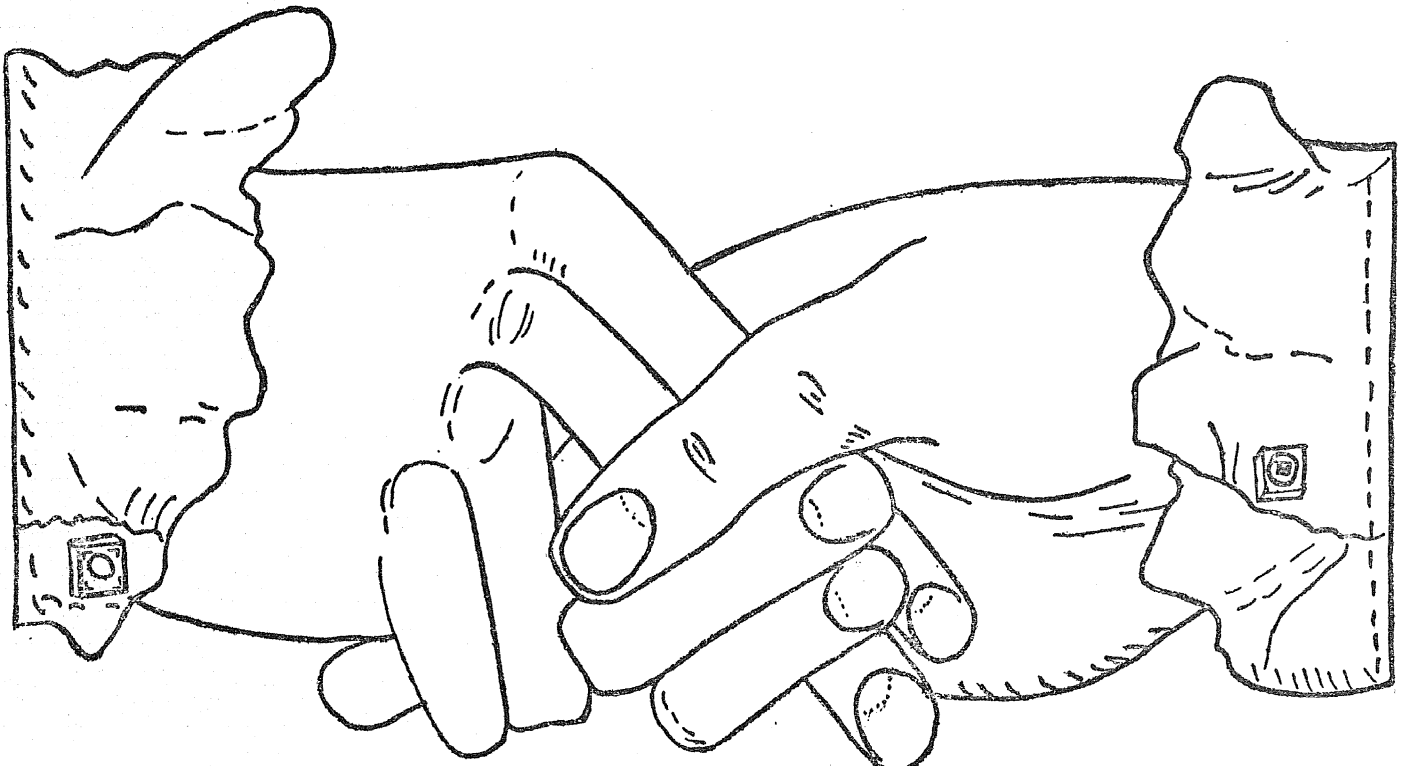
Gentlemen of the Society— You participate with me in the pleasure which I feel, at this addition to our family. I therefore present to you our new Brethren for mutual congratulations.

Then the President and the rest of the Society in succession shall take them by the hand with a cordial congratulation, observing to use the Sign of the Society in shaking hands.

After adopting by-laws on August 7, a list containing ninety-seven names was presented, and all were duly elected honorary members of the Society. All but five were alumni of the College, of classes between 1796 and 1817. Of the ninety-two alumni elected, seventy-six were from New York State, nine from Albany, eight from New York City, six from Schenectady. Six were from New England, and fourteen from seven other States.

With the new academic year, monthly meetings of students began and continued in an endeavor to follow the rules for which the constitution provided. A few subjects were proposed, and at least two were debated after several postponements.

The Alpha's first anniversary, July 21, 1818, began with an important business meeting at which the officers were re-elected. It was made clear "that it was the duty of the Treasurer to provide a Trunk for the Society." At the public exercises which followed Rev. John Chester of Albany delivered the oration.



Drawing of the mode of shaking hands sent in 1817 from Yale with the Charter for the Alpha of New York.

During that first year 160 were elected to membership at twenty meetings, eighty-five of whom were made full members at ten initiations. Of the number elected ninety-nine were alumni, seventeen may be termed honorary, and forty-four were from the classes of 1817 and 1818. The one-third rule was disregarded.

The Alphas in New England waited a year for information of the new Alpha. Dated July 7, 1818, the report is fortunately preserved:

> Dear Sir—The New York Alpha of the Phi Beta Kappa was duly organized in July and August of 1817, but it necessarily took up several months to detail the elections, to make the needful arrangements and to prepare the catalogues. This together with an affliction in my family which absorbed all my attention for several months put it wholly out of my power until now to address you and transmit the catalogue of members.
>
> I inclose you the list.
>
> Our officers for the current year:
>
> Rev. Eliphalet Nott, D.D., President
>
> Rev. Andrew Yates, D.D., Vice President
>
> Rev. McAuley, LL.D., Corres. Secy.
>
> I am charged especially by the New York Alpha to express to you in terms the most respectful our high sense of the obligation conferred by that Charter which fraternized us with your association. We do trust, that we shall do no dishonor to our Brethren in the East.
>
> We remain with much affection, &c
>
> Th. McAuley, Corres. Secy.

In the accompanying catalogue the members were arranged in two lists, first 136 names of members elected as honorary from among the graduates and as students from the classes of 1817 and 1818. Following the names are three columns, headed respectively, "Residence," "College Title," and "Time of Admission." In the second list are the names of sixteen juniors. These were members of the class of 1819, who formed the immediate society. The first list contains twelve who should be classed as honorary and ninety-three selected from the twenty-one classes that had graduated. Before the academic year closed four more alumni and six more honorary members-elect were also enrolled.

The three New England Alphas, from the beginning, had elected only twenty-four honorary members and sixty-one from among their graduates. The radical action of the Alpha of New York set a precedent which influenced the practice in succeeding decades.

The Dartmouth College Case

An all-absorbing event was taking place at this time at Dartmouth, a controversy now generally known as the Dartmouth College Case. It is of interest here because of Phi Beta Kappa members who took part. After a quarrel between President John Wheelock and the Trustees of Dartmouth College, the Legislature of New Hampshire in 1816 passed acts intended to wrest the control of the College from the present Board of Trustees. The legislature increased the number of Trustees, the additional ones to be appointed by the Governor. Wheelock was elected President of the proposed Dartmouth University, but died before taking office and was succeeded by his son-in-law, Rev. William Allen. Allen proceeded to take forcible possession of the College buildings. Both he and his two associates on the faculty were members of Phi Beta Kappa.

Meanwhile the College was continued in a room over a shoe store. A demand for the records and seal of the College was made to the former treasurer, who proposed keeping them for the University. When this demand was denied, suit was brought before the Superior Court of the State. The opinion was given that the Legislature had acted within its rights in creating a University in the place of the College. Both the plaintiff and the defendant as well as all the faculty and the majority of the trustees were members of Phi Beta Kappa. So were Chief Justice Richardson and his associates, Samuel Bell and Levi Woodbury, Jeremiah Mason and Daniel Webster, who represented the College, and Ichabod Bartlett, who assisted the Attorney General in presenting the case for the University.

The decision of the State Court was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. The eloquent argument of Webster prevailed. In February, 1819, the legislative enactments were declared unconstitutional and the College documents had to be returned and the buildings released. Chief Justice John Marshall and Associate Justice Bushrod Washington had both been initiated at William and Mary; Associate Justice Joseph Story, who also wrote an opinion, was a member at Harvard.

A 400-page account of the case was soon published by Timothy Farrar, selected by the trustees of the College. Some months later Henry Wheaton, Court Reporter, issued the official record, and afterwards Chauncey A. Goodrich, professor at Yale, who had heard the case, described Webster's appeal, quoting his statement: "It is a small College and yet there are those who love it." Farrar was a member at Dartmouth and Goodrich at Yale, while Wheaton was afterward elected to membership at Brown.

During the two years of the trial the Alpha at Dartmouth continued

its work, with regular anniversaries but without the dinners. As soon as the Supreme Court decision was handed down, it appointed Rufus Choate of the senior class chairman of a committee to "arrange for a public dinner," and satisfaction was recorded over "the deliverance of our present Institution from the arbitrary interposition of legislative power," and "the presence of him who had so dexterously and successfully wielded the Aegis of the law."

Fifty-five members of Phi Beta Kappa in one way or another participated in the Dartmouth College Case. Five belonged to the Alpha of Connecticut, twelve to the Alpha of Massachusetts, one each to the Alphas of Maine and Rhode Island, and thirty-six to the Alpha of New Hampshire.

CHAPTER V

A Time of Inner Development: c. 1818-1845

THE THIRD PERIOD in Phi Beta Kappa's development continues for sixty-five years until the end, in 1883, of the Society's first century, when the United Chapters was organized. The progress of the Society was marked by the activity of the sheltering colleges and depended to a large extent upon the growth and development of other colleges to which charters might be granted. It will be detailed in the present chapter and the two which follow, "Decades of Rapid Expansion" and "The Uniting of the Chapters."

During this period the New England colleges held educational leadership. Dartmouth had no rival in New Hampshire. Francis Brown, who succumbed in 1820 under the distresses of the controversy, was followed as president by Daniel Dana (1820–1821), Bennet Tyler (1821–1827), Nathan Lord (1828–1863), Asa Dodge Smith (1863–1867) and Samuel C. Bartlett (1867–1892). Yale had the advantage of strong presidents with extended terms: Jeremiah Day (1817–1846), Theodore Dwight Woolsey (1846–1871), Noah Porter (1871–1886). At Harvard, between 1810 and 1869 there were seven presidents before Charles W. Eliot in 1869 started a new era. Francis Wayland, president of Brown University from 1827 to 1855, exerted a wide influence by virtue of his vigorous personality, moral earnestness, and forward looking interest in educational reform. These college presidents were all members of Phi Beta Kappa and shared and contributed to its development. The newer colleges, Washington (later Trinity) and Wesleyan University in Connecticut, Williams and Amherst in Massachusetts, and Bowdoin and Waterville (later Colby) in Maine were sharing, of course, in the educational activity of the nation. At Union College, just outside New England, Eliphalet Nott became a force in the educational world.

The number of A.B. degrees awarded during successive decades in the first four Northern colleges in which branches were established will illustrate the relative growth in the student body. Increase in student attendance is important, forming the basis for the numbers elected by the several branches of Phi Beta Kappa. The accompanying table begins with the organization of the branches in New England, and covers a period of eight decades, with totals as of 1820 and 1860.

NUMBER OF STUDENTS WHO RECEIVED THE A.B. DEGREE

Decade	*Yale*	*Harvard*	*Dartmouth*	*Union*
1780–1789	418	369	165	
1790–1799	276	394	348	
1800–1809	522	449	335	134
1810–1819	615	613	341	416
	1,831	1,815	1,189	550
1820–1829	751	577	334	679
1830–1839	810	566	386	824
1840–1849	1,064	611	591	857
1850–1859	989	827	637	709
	3,614	2,581	1,948	3,069

The period was for Phi Beta Kappa one of slow growth, for only twenty charters were granted, an average of three during each ten years. The increase was not regular, however, for only two applications received favorable consideration before 1845, Bowdoin in 1825 and Brown in 1830. The leaders of Phi Beta Kappa seemed satisfied with the six Alphas that constituted the Society.

However, this attitude changed. In the ten years after 1845, six new charters were granted. The Beta of Connecticut at Trinity College, and the Gamma at Wesleyan University were both instituted in 1845. Then in 1847 the Alleghenies ceased to be a barrier; the Alpha of Ohio was established at Western Reserve College, then at Hudson, Ohio. Next came the Alpha of Vermont at the University of Vermont in 1848, the Alpha of Alabama at the State University in 1851, and the Beta of Massachusetts at Amherst College in 1853.

Public interest in Phi Beta Kappa was aroused in November, 1848, when the records of the original Society at William and Mary were presented to the Virginia Historical Society. There followed the reorganization of the Alpha at Williamsburg in June, 1851. During the closing years of the decade before the Civil War, three charters were granted: to Kenyon College in 1858; to the University of the City of New York (now New York University) in 1858; to Marietta College in 1860. These new branches increased the list to fifteen at the end of eighty-five years of activity. By these additions the Society ended its period of isolation in New England and New York, and began to assume a national character.

Although there was no recognized way to convey information concerning the institution of new branches, announcements were made at anniversaries, and the interest in the Society was deepened and widened.

But the growth during this period seems quite fortuitous. There was no conscious direction of the Society along definite lines. Several colonial colleges were overlooked. Columbia in New York was late in applying, and Princeton and the University of Pennsylvania seem not to have been considered.

The second half of the period, though broken by the War between the States, showed few outward changes in the Society. The charter for Williams College, voted in 1864, was the only one granted during the War. Then, within six years, seven chapters were organized; Gamma of New York, College of the City of New York, July, 1867; Beta of Vermont, Middlebury College, August, 1868; Alpha of New Jersey, Rutgers College, February, 1869; Delta of New York, Columbia College, April, 1869; Epsilon of New York, Hamilton College, May, 1870; Zeta of New York, Hobart College, July, 1871; Eta of New York, Madison (now Colgate) University, June, 1873.

While the Society was extending, it was changing its methods. Less attention was being given to literary activities of undergraduates, more to exercises that were subject to public appraisal. It became in fact an honor society, though its name and rules were unchanged. It was still a Greek letter society with a badge of gold bearing the three initials. In the various colleges it continued to be an independent organization with increasing patronage and assistance from college authorities. The dignity and ability displayed in its public meetings were more and more widely noticed. Many orations and poems delivered at anniversaries were published, and catalogues of members were issued. The chapters maintained essential independence, but endeavored to plan and work in cooperation. Institutions without charters looked to the time when they might join the fellowship and confer membership upon their outstanding students and graduates. The Society now clearly belonged to the educational life of America, lived and thrived. Seldom has a society been so little inclined to advertise itself. There were no conventions to proclaim its ideals. Though each chapter took pride in its roster of members, there was no general catalogue. Under these conditions, it continued its work and made an impressive appeal to the imagination.

The rapid increase in the number of chapters revealed the inadequacy of the Society's methods of expansion. The need of a central organization was becoming evident. An application from Cornell University for a charter, presented in 1869 to the Alphas of New York and Massachusetts, and on which action was delayed, finally brought about the calling of the first convention at Cambridge on June 30, 1881. In one brief session, the appointment of a committee to suggest a plan of union began a movement of great importance. Two years later, on September 5, 1883, a

central organization, "The United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa," working under a constitution adopted by more than two-thirds of the chapters, introduced a new era.

During the two years between the convention and the first National Council in 1883, the Alpha of New York again exercised its recognized power and granted authority for a seventh junior branch: in 1882 the Theta of New York was organized at Cornell. Now Phi Beta Kappa consisted of twenty-five chapters, sixteen affiliated with the new organization, five which delayed joining the United Chapters, and four inactive. The hesitant chapters soon joined and the inactive ones, reorganized, were welcomed by succeeding National Councils. The Alpha of Connecticut was revived in 1884, the Alpha of Ohio in 1884, the Alpha of Virginia in 1893, and the Alpha of Alabama in 1912.

Constitutional Revisions

Within a decade after the institution of the Alpha of New York, the three New England societies revised their constitutions.

The minutes at Yale do not mention the influences which led to the changes, our only knowledge coming from the laws and ritual sent to Providence in 1830 at the time of the organization of the Alpha of Rhode Island: the "Constitution of the Phi Beta Kappa Society." The code had been changed in only a few places. The paragraphs were headed "Articles" and numbered consecutively. A vice-president was added to the list of officers, and also an assistant treasurer, to be chosen from among the undergraduates. New provisions were drafted in a series of thirteen by-laws, arranged under three headings—Meetings, Exercises, and Admission of Members—which "were passed at a Stated General Meeting in 1823."

These by-laws make this distinction between the functions of the anniversary, renamed the annual meeting, and the stated general meeting:

"There shall be an *Annual Meeting* of the Society on the 1st Thursday in December; at which time the Secretary shall read the Constitution; the Treasurer shall exhibit a statement of accounts; and a President, Vice-President, Corresponding Secretary, Treasurer, and a Committee for nominating Orators and Poets shall be elected. Afterwards, an oration shall be delivered by a graduate; and by undergraduates shall be exhibited a dissertation of some philosophical subject, a colloquy, and a dispute by two persons. Appointments for the above exercises shall be made at the first meeting in August."

The general meeting was to be held the day before commencement at 2 o'clock, at which an oration and a poem were to be delivered, for

which the secretary was to make the necessary arrangements. The method of selecting orator and poet, in case those elected failed to accept, was carefully outlined.

The treasurer was to be chosen from among the graduates, and the assistant treasurer, secretary, register, and judge of compositions, from among the undergraduates at the first meeting after the admission of members from the junior class. The initiation fee was "one dollar . . . and any member who shall neglect to pay said fee shall be disqualified for receiving any office or appointment from the Society, and his name shall not be inserted in the printed Catalogue."

The assistant treasurer was to "keep the accounts of the attendant members; to receive taxes, fines and other moneys, and to make disbursements as may be ordered at any meeting of the Society; to provide badges for the members at the Stated General Meetings, to make a report at the first meeting in every term; and, at the expiration of his office, to exhibit his accounts to the Treasurer, who shall be, *ex officio*, auditor."

It was further provided that "Catalogue of the members of the Society shall be published in the month of August, in the year 1826, and every subsequent third year; and a copy of the catalogue shall be forwarded by mail to every member."

The opening of regular meetings was to follow the "ringing of the bell," and an interval of an hour thereafter was necessary before the election of undergraduates to membership. Elections of graduates and others were reserved to "Annual or Stated General Meetings." No provision limited the number of candidates who might be nominated.

The "Form of Initiation" follows the order of the earlier ritual, but the formal statement by the president was much briefer. The four questions were asked and the laws were read by the secretary. If the candidates did not object, the president administered the following oath:

"You solemnly promise that you will be true and faithful to this Society—that you will obey the laws, and preserve inviolate the secrets of the same." The president then explained "the medal and signs, and then addressed them in an appropriate manner. . . . The President and the rest of the Society in succession," were next expected "to take them by the hand with a cordial congratulation, observing to use the sign of the Society in shaking hands."

Little is known of the discussions which led the Alpha of Massachusetts to revise its laws, because the book containing the records of anniversary meetings was lost. The immediate society had difficulties in deciding upon candidates for membership, and the rule requiring unanimity was questioned. Hence in April, 1822, "Nathaniel Gage and Samuel M. Worcester were appointed a committee for revising the laws and ascer-

taining the probable expense of printing a catalogue of the members." A month later the report of the committee was presented and accepted.

The decision was to have a complete revision drafted. According to the diary of John Quincy Adams, Edward Everett, professor of Greek Literature at Harvard, prepared the draft, as adopted on September 1, 1825. This revision retains only a few reminders of the language of the code of laws which came from Virginia.

The preamble was omitted. The heading is significant:

Laws of the
PHI BETA KAPPA SOCIETY
Alpha of Massachusetts, in Harvard University.

There are four chapters: "*Officers* and their *Duty*," "*Meetings*," "*Members*," and "*Literary Exercises*," and thirty-five sections in all. Eight officers are named: a president, vice-president, secretary, recording secretary, treasurer, librarian, sergeant, and two marshals. Four of these, including the treasurer, were to be elected at each anniversary meeting from the members of the Society who were not undergraduates. There were four undergraduate officers, the recording secretary, chosen by ballot, and the librarian, the sergeant and two marshals who were to be chosen by lot from the junior members of the Society at a meeting to be held the second Wednesday of July, with duties carefully defined. The recording secretary, the principal officer of the immediate society, was to call and preside at all the meetings, and report their activities, submitting the record book with list of new members to the Society, through the corresponding secretary. One member served as librarian, sergeant and undergraduate treasurer.

The anniversary meetings of the members of the Society at large were to be held the day after commencement in the chapel at nine o'clock. Special meetings might be called by the president. Three members constituted a quorum of the immediate members, and nine a quorum of the Society at large.

The provision for electing student members by unanimous ballot was continued. Other elections were reserved to the Society at large, and graduates of colleges where there was a branch of the Society might not be elected. A member-elect was to meet the corresponding secretary, and after giving formal assent to the laws of the Society read to him, he was reported as a member to the next anniversary meeting.

The election of immediate members was not to be held until the third term of the junior year, but might occur "at any subsequent time in the

Academical career." On being introduced at a subsequent meeting, and subscribing to the laws when read, they should have the medal explained to them by the presiding officer. Each immediate member was to provide himself with "a medal conforming to that hitherto worn." Other members on paying a fee of $5 would receive a medal from the corresponding secretary. The immediate members were to choose a committee to make the usual preparations for the celebration of the anniversary, and to defray "by an equal assessment the expenses attending the celebration." Any member of any other branch was entitled to attend the meetings, and enjoy all the other privileges of a member of the branch at Cambridge.

The provisions for the selection of orator and poet by a committee of seven chosen by ballot at each anniversary meeting seem cumbersome, yet they evidently proved adequate, for there was never entire failure. The presiding officer was authorized to invite distinguished strangers to attend the literary exercises and dinner of the Society. The immediate society retained full responsibility for the literary exercises to be performed from time to time by the undergraduate members.

The constitution recognized the dual character of the Alpha at Cambridge. Nothing is stated respecting the basis of elections, either of undergraduates, or of those chosen by the Society at large. This new code was adopted shortly after the Society had approved a charter for Bowdoin College, but its provisions did not influence the form of the laws proposed and adopted at Brunswick.

The proposal to revise the laws at Dartmouth was first noted after new by-laws had been adopted at Yale, and was stimulated by the granting of a charter to Bowdoin and the report of its organization. On August 24, 1825, it was voted that a committee be chosen to revise the laws of the Society. The revision was presented at the next anniversary, August 23, 1826, and unanimously adopted.

The copy in the opening pages of the Alpha's second book of records begins with a "Form of Initiation." Though the avowal of loyalty was omitted, the promise to hold the methods and rules of the Society secret was continued.

The laws consist of thirty articles under headings: *Officers, Exercises, Meetings, Admission of Members, Business,* and *Exhibitions.* The preamble reads: "For the better regulation of the proceedings of this Society, the following articles are hereby adopted and declared to be the Laws of this Alpha: and shall be enforced until the same be repealed or amended by vote of at least two-thirds of the members present at any annual meeting."

The list of officers included a register and judge of composition, as

at Yale, with the provision that the vice-president, the secretary, and the treasurer were to be chosen from among the members permanently resident in the immediate vicinity of the College. To the secretary was continued the duty to "correspond with other branches of the Society, and to give seasonable notice to all persons appointed to perform public exercises at anniversary meetings."

The register was to record in a book the names of the members, alphabetically, as they were admitted, their place of residence, and time of initiation. He was also to "keep a book of records, and carefully inscribe therein all the important transactions of the Society; open the meetings by declaring the exercises; and collect the ballots, and number the votes of the members at elections and appointments." The duties of the judge of composition remained unchanged, as did provisions governing exercises. This is also true respecting regular fortnightly meetings, including fines for unexcused absences, which for "Declaimant or Disputant" were three shillings, and, for "each other resident member, . . . one shilling and six pence."

The rules governing elections and the admission of members remained as before, including the provision for procuring medals "of the common form." The initiation fee was four dollars. Honorary members were to be elected at annual meetings only; and then only after having been in nomination a year. Graduates of colleges where an Alpha had been established were not to be elected; and graduates of Dartmouth only when proposed by a classmate, "except in cases of peculiar merit."

The provisions governing business were only slightly changed, and included the sending by the secretary to the different Alphas of the Society a report of the anniversary with lists of officers and new members; copies of these letters, as at Yale, were to be lodged with the secretary, though the trunk was not mentioned.

Each annual meeting was to appoint a committee of three to nominate an orator and a poet for the next anniversary, and to cooperate with the secretary, in case of declinations, in inviting some suitable person to take part in the exercises.

Thus the three Alphas, by revising their constitutions between 1823 and 1826, wrote into their laws the sum of what they had come to regard as orthodox procedure. Although the distinction between the undergraduate or "immediate society" and the "society at large" was affirmed at Harvard only, the essence of that distinction was recognized at Yale and Dartmouth. The election of students remained with the undergraduate members. In each Alpha, members of the college faculty showed constant interest and gave stability which undergraduate groups could not have attained without their help.

Activities at Yale, Harvard, and Dartmouth

Interest in the Society at Yale continued in a marked degree until 1845. The influence of several young professors encouraged men of prominence in New Haven and the vicinity to accept the presidency. Thus in 1820, David Daggett 1783, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Connecticut, filled the office. He was followed by other members equally distinguished: William Bristol, Roger Minot Sherman, Samuel J. Hitchcock, Aaron N. Skinner and Thomas Scott Williams. These men, prominent in city, state, and nation, gave distinction to the public meetings. For a decade or more three gatherings were continued: the anniversary meeting for election of officers in December, the general meeting during commencement week, with an orator and a poet, and a meeting for the initiation of members of the junior class.

Only at Yale did members from the city attend largely the meetings for initiation, attracted by the prominent presidents who spoke on the history and characteristics of the Society and of its value to young members. Some undergraduate secretaries wrote of the impressions made upon them.

In 1817 Charles McCurdy concluded his minutes: "Harmony reigned throughout the evening. In good season the Society adjourned, apparently well satisfied; particularly the new members, who departed with highly elevated notions of the Phi Beta Kappa."

Three years later, learning of faculty opposition to "noises which had in times past occasionally passed the bounds of decorum . . . a curtailment of the usual preparations" for "the entertainment customary on the admission of members" was recommended.

Of the initiation on July 6, 1827, Courtlandt Van Rensselaer wrote: "The Society was honoured by the attendance of a number of its most worthy members; who never fail to give their active assistance in transacting all 'important business.' The Vice-President occupied the chair, and Messrs. Johnson and Crocker introduced the new members with great dignity and becoming solemnity. A most excellent address was delivered to our younger brethren; and afterwards the enigmatical letters and symbols of the Society were explained."

In the minutes of the following year the secretary wrote that "the emblems of the Key, the shaking of hands (& &) were severally explained." The word *key* was here used for the first time instead of *medal.*

Of the initiation a year later the secretary stated:

"After the chair had gone through the usual preliminary prescribed by the Constitution, he proceeded to open the eyes of the New Members by explaining to them the profound mysteries of the Society, the manner of

shaking hands, of knocking at the door and also the enigmatical symbols of the Key. The Constitution was read as usual. The Chair then addressed the initiated in a very lively and interesting manner. . . .

"The other exercises of the evening, though not of a *Literary* nature, were I presume more *entertaining*. They seemed to correspond very well with the different tastes of the Members who gave the most conclusive evidence of their approbation by the ample justice which the collation received at their hands. The Society was honored this evening by the attendance of several of its older and most worthy Members. The Meeting was fuller attended than usual. . . .

"The remaining Members after drinking to the success of the Temperate Society adjourned in good season and in good order."

References to hilarity on anniversary occasions gradually disappeared, after the decision of July 2, 1826: "The committee for the entertainment was instructed not to exceed $50.00 in their arrangements and the Society prohibited the introduction of ardent spirits by an almost unanimous vote."

Ardent spirits evidently did not include wine, for at the meeting four days later, as the secretary wrote: "The bounteous repast was enriched by every variety which could be obtained by the sagacity of a 'knowing' committee. . . . Toasts of friendship were 'vicisively' drank. Wit flashed; the spirits soon began to flow; the wine descended; but none fell—into unseemly conduct. Highest regard was, of course, paid to decorum and temperance. The Society adjourned at a quarter past ten."

A year later the minute concludes:

"The new members were initiated with the usual forms. The Constitution was read and an address distinguished by good sense and impressive morality was made by our President the Hon. Roger M. Sherman. Refreshments were then handed round, from which, by previous decision of the Society, wine was excluded, and after a cheerful entertainment the Society was adjourned at 10 o'clock."

At Yale and Dartmouth, undergraduate activities continued with commendable regularity until the early forties. Occasionally the secretaries wrote their minutes with gusto. On the subject "Ought Secret Societies to be Abolished," one secretary wrote:

"The debate was beyond dispute the most remarkable of all that have ever been held before any Society in any age. The arguments were perfectly convincing on both sides and equally clear, and as was to have been expected, there was on each side an equal number of votes, thus placing the determination of the question *in equilibrio*."

The treasurer's reports were regularly presented without records being made of items. In December, 1841, the treasurer, "entering upon the duties

of his office found an empty treasury, in consequence of a recent mysterious disappearance of the funds," and a deficit of $10 threatened. This minute follows:

"Mr. Chandler, our respected Treasurer, was called to the Chair . . . [and] related in a most feeling manner the destitute, poverty struck, condition of our Treasury. Whereat the hearts of the members were mightily stirred within them, so that magnanimously and almost unanimously they voted to tax themselves the sum of thirty-seven and a half cents, to be paid when purses are full, at the beginning of the next term."

At Harvard literary exercises began to lag, due "in great measure to the late surprising multiplication of lectures and so forth." There were fewer meetings and the selection of candidates from junior classes became more difficult. Members chosen in 1819 attempted to revive the exercises. At a meeting in November the following subject was discussed: "The superiority or inferiority of the advantages and pleasures of old age to those of youth. . . ."

An odd item is found in this minute: "A long discussion succeeded on the propriety of excusing Brother Davis for absence from the last meeting, on the plea that he was detained at the Hermeti's Society by particularly interesting performances. Voted not to excuse him on the ground that the Hermeti's was an inferior club, and his argument would be of dangerous application."

In the following months these questions were discussed: "Whether it would be a politic measure in the United States to admit any more States into the Union"—decided in the affirmative—and "Whether abolishing the study of the Greek and Latin Classics and substituting British authors would be an improvement in the mode of instruction in our schools and colleges." With the debates of the next two meetings literary exercises at Harvard ceased. Business was confined to arrangements for anniversary meetings and to the election of officers.

The minutes read: "Not having sufficient information concerning the relative rank of others in the Senior Class, . . . voted we have a special meeting in the Society's rooms on next Wednesday, and members were requested previously to procure lists of scholars in that class from the government and from individuals of the class. . . .

"The usual number admitted before Commencement is eight, but we found it so difficult to decide between rival candidates that it was voted to stop balloting and adjourn."

Three years later two members were chosen "to request a copy of the scaling of rank of the President," but not finding him in, a member was appointed to procure the list of the first eight scholars who were not

then members of the Society. But as President Kirkland was unwilling to comply, the members proceeded to ballot for those believed worthy on account of their college standing and "general literary characteristics," and some were chosen.

That did not end the matter, for at a special meeting, "The Society having ascertained that part of the members usually admitted from the Senior class, are among those whose connections with the College are dissolved on account of a most serious and unfortunate revolution which took place the last term, voted that the regard due to our characters as classmates and scholars should prevent the vacancy occasioned by their loss from being filled."

The "revolution" of May 2, 1823, arose, as the faculty later reported, "in consequence of the resentment conceived on the part of the Senior class against one of their members, and led them and some Juniors to assault 'the obnoxious individual' as he entered the Chapel, no regard being paid 'to the remonstrances and commands' of the Professor . . . presiding at the exercises." Thirty-five seniors were summarily dismissed, and at the commencement only twenty-nine received A.B. degrees. On July 7, "after a long and learned discussion of the literary merits of the candidates," seven were duly elected and "after a recess of a few minutes with Brother Coggswell in the Chair, . . . the mysteries of the Fraternity were explained and the emblem made known to the new members. The ceremony was performed in the usual dignified and impressive manner of our learned and highly respected brother."

Some of the rebellious students were later given degrees and eight of them, as alumni, were accorded membership in Phi Beta Kappa.

The difficulty of making selections was resolved when the secretary was directed to "consult some member of the Faculty previous to the election from the Junior class, respecting the persons whose rank entitled them, according to custom, to be candidates." Thus by 1826 the Alpha of Massachusetts had given up literary exercises and had begun to rely upon college grades in the selection of members. That grades were not accepted as the only qualification is evident from the discussions of later years. In 1834 the Graduate Society adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved, as the sense of this meeting, that scholarship with a generally good character, should be the ground of election into the ΦBK Society, that the decision of the rank of each individual should be left with [the] immediate members, who are to form their own opinion, but that it be recommended to them, that the government scale of rank should be an important element in the formation of that opinion.

"Resolved, as the opinion of the Society, that it is very desirable that

the number of sixteen from each class, a number fixed by long usage, should in no case be exceeded in choosing immediate members."

The Society at Harvard was the most conservative of all the Alphas. All who were elected to honorary membership, whether graduates or not, were welcomed without ceremony, since initiations were not required. Initiation was not necessary after 1831, when it was voted to discontinue obligations of secrecy. A year earlier the initiation ceremony was simplified, requiring little beside the reading of the constitution and an address by the presiding officer. New members then signed the affirmation:

"We, the undersigned, promise to obey the Constitution of the Society of Φ B K, which we have now heard."

In the first group of initiates were John Lothrop Motley and Wendell Phillips.

This simplification led to a resolution "that the local branch of undergraduates be informed that the Ceremony of Initiation . . . be hereafter laid aside." The students, however, desired some formality, for during the following May they voted "that upon the introduction of a new member, the presiding officer or some Brother, appointed for the purpose, shall give a brief History of the Society, an account of its Principles, and an explanation of its signs." This rule is still observed at Harvard, though in more recent years the historical statement has been read by a newly elected member.

Anniversaries were maintained with enthusiasm, attracting large audiences partly on account of orators and poets and partly because of the men who presided. John Quincy Adams, elected in 1817, served as president only a year because of duties as Secretary of State. His successors were men of outstanding quality: Charles Jackson, Joseph Story, Edward Everett, Cornelius C. Felton, James Russell Lowell, Edward Everett Hale, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and Joseph H. Choate.

At Dartmouth, the development of the Society depended in part upon the recovery of the College, following the attempt to transform it into a University. The wounds of that controversy healed gradually; confidence was restored, and the experience fell into the past.

One entry in the records of the year 1827 may have interest. At both Yale and Dartmouth attention had been directed to the papers of the original Society. A communication came to Yale from William H. Foote, whose home was in Virginia, stating "that the archives of the former Alpha of that State were yet in existence, and expressing his readiness to aid by all means in his power, whatever resolution concerning them this Society should think fit to adopt."

The secretary was requested to continue the correspondence with Mr. Foote and to pursue those measures with regard to the records which in his opinion should be most conducive to the interests of the Society. Though Foote became a clergyman of some prominence in Virginia, no report of the correspondence has been found. The same subject had been brought to the attention of the Society at Dartmouth by Thomas C. Searle of the class of 1812, who studied theology at Princeton, and later became a minister in Maryland. In the Seminary he learned through the President, Archibald Alexander, that the original papers, constitution, charter, etc., were in the possession of Col. William Cabell of Virginia, and wrote to the secretary of the Alpha respecting them. It was "voted that the President of the Society take such measures as he shall think proper for the procuring such papers. Voted [that] the Alpha of New Hampshire present a medal to Dr. Alexander."

The secretary was directed to encourage Dr. Alexander to get possession of these papers. Searle later reported that he had presented the medal, but the records could not be obtained.

These references to the early records awakened interest in the Society's history, and presidents at Yale began to speak at initiations on the history and principles of the Society, supplementing the statement in the ritual. Though many addresses were thus delivered, not one copy has been found. More information of early days was in the trunk at Yale than had been preserved at either Harvard or Dartmouth, but it was at Dartmouth that the earliest story of the Society's beginnings found mention in the records. At a regular meeting, November 1, 1827, when three seniors were initiated, Professor William Chamberlain, the corresponding secretary, presided and proceeded to give his audience an outline of the Society's history. The secretary made this record:

"An interesting account of the origin and history of the ΦBK was given by the presiding member. The Society took its origin at the University of Oxford, Eng., in the reign of James II as a literary and convivial club: had among its members some of the first men of the day: but the principles of some of its members being opposed to the arbitrary designs of the Court, it was suppressed. Some time after, several of its members came over to Virginia, and the Society was re-established at the College of William and Mary, in that Colony. About the year 1781 the Alpha of Massachusetts was established at Harvard College. When a request was made, a while after, for the establishment of a branch of the Society at Yale College, the Alpha of Massachusetts refused; but by the assistance of Bishop Berkeley, an eminent patron of Yale College, who communicated such of the Secrets of ΦBK as were in his possession, he having been one of the members of the original Society, the Alpha of Connecticut

was formed. In 1787 the charter of the Alpha of New Hampshire was granted; since which time branches of this Society have been established at Union and Bowdoin Colleges. The Φ B K has become extinct at the College of William and Mary."

With the exception of the dates of the organization at Harvard and Dartmouth, the inactivity of the Alpha of Virginia and the reference to the newer Alphas at Union and Bowdoin, these statements seem to be without foundation. The famous philosopher Bishop George Berkeley having been born in 1685, the first year of James's reign of three years, he could scarcely have been a member of the "original Society," nor could he have "communicated to Yale such of the secrets of the Φ B K as were in his possession," as he died in 1753. We have no knowledge of a less famous Bishop Berkeley.

However unreliable this statement was, it is the only one known to have been written between 1785 and 1879, when Edward Everett Hale published his "A Fossil from the Tertiary."

Activities of the Alpha of New York

Union College advanced rapidly, due in part to its location in the Mohawk Valley, which grew in importance after the opening of the Erie Canal in 1824. One of the earliest railroads, from Albany to Schenectady, was extended to Buffalo. Many students transferred from the newer colleges farther west to Union, attracted by the growing reputation of President Nott as teacher and administrator. The average number of students received into membership of Phi Beta Kappa rose from seventeen during the first ten years to thirty-two in the next thirty. The average during the fourth decade fell to twenty-two, and in the fifth to fourteen, due largely to the establishment of a scientific course, whose graduates were deemed ineligible for the Society.

The policy in elections to honorary membership continued liberal, and during early decades an average of three alumni and five others were elected each year. At the end of thirty years the Alpha of New York had received a few more than 1,000 members and was prospering.

No provision was made, however, for collecting before the initiation the fee of one dollar from students, and treasurers not infrequently reported deficits. When the fee was increased to five dollars, the resolution did not make it immediately applicable, and members of the classes then in college seem to have questioned their obligation under it.

The Society accepted the ancient constitution and for a time an average of eighteen meetings of undergraduates were held. Many subjects were discussed. The election of students to membership and their initia-

tion occupied much time. In some years difficulties in making selections were noted. In 1838, after repeated efforts failed, it was resolved "That the Faculty be requested to make such elections . . . so that the members elect may be initiated at the approaching Anniversary Meeting." When the situation was reported, one of the younger members proposed "that the attending members be elected by the Faculty, . . . and that the Constitution of the Society be so altered as to read in this way."

No elections were made until the contending members had graduated. Then on September 15, thirty-one seniors were elected, and all but three were initiated. In that group was Morgan J. Smead, who later had much to do with the revival of the Society at William and Mary.

The seniors then elected found themselves in disagreement respecting candidates, for at ten meetings, from January 19 to July 15, elections were attempted without result. At one meeting seven tickets were presented containing in all seventy-three names, nine of whom were on three lists, but without agreement. Faculty members evidently assumed responsibility; for three days before the anniversary meeting, thirty-two seniors were elected, including six not on any student list.

Thereafter seniors were elected after the "merit roll" of the College had been examined. Undergraduate activities ceased in 1838 as they had at Harvard in 1820, but the Harvard decision that initiations were not necessary did not prevail. Those elected to honorary membership were enrolled on receipt of their acceptance, those who came to anniversaries might be given formal welcome.

At Union anniversary meetings were held on the day before commencement, when honorary members and officers were elected, and an orator and poet chosen for the next anniversary. During the thirty-five years from 1818 to 1852 thirty orators and five poets were presented. Thereafter for forty-five years an orator was sought for alternate anniversaries. In 1820 a "Toga" was purchased at a cost of $12 for the use of the orator. Nearly one-half of the orations were printed by request of the Alpha and at its expense.

The Alpha from time to time adopted resolutions governing procedure which were termed "standing orders." Some related to literary exercises, others to elections; one raised the initiation fee of ordinary members to five dollars, another restricted the election of honorary members to anniversary meetings. Another required that their proposal "be accompanied with the name of the Institution at which they have graduated and their present standing and literary requirements."

In 1846 a committee on by-laws reported that the early code had "been so materially modified, superseded, and annulled by the various resolutions, often times inconsistent and contradictory, adopted by the

Society during a period of nearly thirty years, without reference to each other, as to render necessary an entirely new codification of these laws and resolutions." Committees appointed apparently forgot their duties, and another thirty years passed before a new code of by-laws was adopted.

Meanwhile the practice was established of the selection of seniors by the faculty, with their initiation just before graduation. At annual meetings distinguished persons who had stood on nomination at least a year were initiated.

On the receipt of the constitution of the Harvard Society, "which in the opinion of this Alpha embraces some new principles," the corresponding secretary was directed to write to the correspondent at Harvard to inquire how far it was deemed by them competent for one Alpha, without the concurrence of the others, to amend or alter the constitution and laws of the Phi Beta Kappa Society.

Without waiting for reply, a committee was appointed to draft and report a constitution which should embrace only the general principles of the association. The committee consisted of one member of the faculty of the College, a lawyer from New York, and the chairman, Gideon Hawley, who had been superintendent of the common schools of New York, and was then secretary of the Board of Regents.

There were applications for charters from New York University and Hampden-Sydney College. As no new constitution was presented, additional standing orders were adopted. The Alpha assumed the power to grant charters in its own State. Parity with the Alphas at Yale and Harvard, it was decided, gave it this authority granted them in their charters.

The tradition that Thomas Jefferson had brought Phi Beta Kappa from abroad led to inquiries by Union as to its accuracy. The correspondence in the case was first published in 1916 by George M. Coleman of Williamsburg, Va. Letters of inquiry were directed to Jefferson, one by Professor Thomas McAuley and the other by John W. Taylor. The former, headed "Union College, New York State, 19th May 1819," reads:

> The brethren of the New York Alpha of the Phi Beta Kappa Society have directed me to request of Your Exellency the communication of any information you may be in possession of, in relation to the Introduction of said Society into this Country, as it has been told to the Society, that you first brought the Charter from Oxford or Elsewhere to William & Mary College in 1776, or thereabouts, as it is natural for the children to enquire into the pedigree &c of their parents we trust Sir you will pardon the liberty we take, in thus approaching their reputed patron with the lan-

guage of enquiry. Permit me to say that there are now four Alphas, that of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire and New York.

Connecticut has	627 members
Massachusetts	489
N[ew] H[ampshire]	421
N[ew] Y[ork]	155
	1,692

We trust the Society has a very healthful influence on the minds of youth, and will be salutary to the Community. We will thankfully receive any communication on this subject. . . .

I am Sir with the profoundest respect for your many public and private virtues and elevated standing in the republic of letters.

Your very Humble
Servant Thomas McAuley
Cor. Sec. of New York A[lph]a

Jefferson replied:

Monticello June 14, 1819.

Your favor of May 19 has been received, but of the subject it respects I know nothing. I have heard of the Alpha Phi Beta and Kappa Society, but never understood either its location or object. When I was a student of Wm. & Mary College of this State there existed a Society called the F.H.C. Society, confined to the number or six students only, of which I was a member, but it had no useful object, nor do I know whether it now exists. Accept my salutations and assurances of respect.

Th. Jefferson.

Jefferson's second letter, addressed to "Taylor John D. Sp. H. of R. Md.,[1] reads in part:

"The honor of your letter of Jan. 30, is just now received, and I wish it were in my power to answer it's enquiries, but I am an entire stranger to the Φ B K Society, it's history and it's objects, it's existence is known to me by hear-say only. The contrary supposition has probably been founded on an F. H. C. Society which existed at Wm. & Mary College, when I was there, of which I was a member, that was confined to the Alumni of that Institution."

With the decline of undergraduate discussions the question of other activities by the graduate Society was discussed. Members at Union desired to have a larger influence on the life of the College. They drafted a plan which they commended to the other branches.

[1] The "Md." is evidently an error. D. C. may have been written. No John D. Taylor has been Speaker of the House in Maryland.

On a favorable report before the anniversary of 1832, a committee was appointed, which recommended that three special meetings be held at the College each year, "for the purpose of testing by actual experiment the practicability of the plan." All members were invited "to meet at Philosophical Hall at noon," and thereupon to convene in three groups or divisions:

I. A PHYSICAL CLASS

Whose chief object will be the investigation of the Physical and Medical Sciences.

II. A LITERARY CLASS

Whose province shall be the Moral Sciences, and Literature.

III. A CIVIL CLASS

Whose province shall be Law, and Political Science.

The plan as outlined dealt with objects and methods of inquiry and the prospect of broadening information, increasing knowledge, and having important papers published.

Issued in an eight-page folder of six closely printed pages, it was dated "Union College, Nov. 25, 1833," and signed, "Jabez D. Hammond, Chairman; Benjamin F. Joslin, Sec'y of the Physical Class; Chester Averill, Sec'y of the Literary Class; Daniel Gardner, Sec'y of the Civil Class."

The minutes of the Alpha of New York contain little respecting this project. One statement preserved in the archives of the Alpha at Brown, after naming the orator for the anniversary and the orator and "secundus" selected for the following year, reads:

"Our Brethren of Rhode Island are probably aware that for the last three years efforts have been made by the Alpha of New York to establish in connection with their Fraternity an organization which shall have a direct bearing upon the cause of literature and science. Herewith I transmit to you a copy of their circular which will convey more definite and satisfactory information upon this subject than could be communicated by letter.

"In conformity with the recommendation of the Society's committee a Physical, a Literary and a Civil Class have been organized. Scientific communications have been solicited from the brethren and a few have been received, one of which by Prof. Joslin on the Physiology of Respiration will be found in the last volume of the Transactions of the New York

State Medical Society. Several other communications are expected during the present year.

"I doubt not that I express the sentiments of the Alpha in whose name I address you when I state that a strong interest is felt by them in the prosperity of yours. We shall ever cherish towards our Brethren in the East the warmest sentiments of respect and affection and any communications in relation to the situation and welfare of your Alpha will be received with pleasure."

There was little possibility that one Alpha could long maintain so extensive a program. The other Alphas did not adopt this plan, being convinced that the best results would come from holding anniversary meetings on a high level by presenting men of distinction as orators and poets.

The Alpha of Maine at Bowdoin College

That faith in the value of higher education which marked the New England colonies was strong in the District of Maine. An application to the General Court of Massachusetts for a charter for a college, presented in 1793, was successful a year later. The College was to bear the name of James Bowdoin, late Governor of the Commonwealth. Eight years elapsed before the charter became effective. Then the College opened at Brunswick on September 2, 1802, with Joseph McKeen as President, and John Abbot as professor of classical languages and ancient literature. In a building almost finished, college work began with eight students in the freshman class. At the first commencement, on September 3, 1806, seven were awarded A.B. degrees. Bowdoin became the eighth college in New England to confer degrees.

The story of its early years is briefly but ably described in a monograph appearing in *The Phi Beta Kappa Key* (Vol. 2, pp. 284ff.) by Dr. George T. Little, for a time professor of Latin, and later librarian from 1883 until his death in 1915.

The following members of the faculty, because of their services and because they were all members of Phi Beta Kappa, deserve special mention. Professor John Abbot's relation to the College began with its formal opening, and continued until 1829. He taught until 1816, and then was made a trustee and treasurer. Parker Cleaveland went to Bowdoin in 1805 as professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, and taught these subjects until his death in 1858. Jesse Appleton, who became president of the College in 1807, was the first member of Phi Beta Kappa to be chosen to this office. William Allen, president of the ill-fated Dartmouth University, 1817 to 1819, was in 1820 inaugurated president. Another col-

league of Professors Abbot and Cleaveland, Samuel Phillips Newman, was called to Bowdoin as tutor, later chosen professor of ancient languages and then transferred to the new chair of rhetoric and oratory. His "Treatise on Rhetoric" passed through sixty editions, and was republished abroad. It is difficult to make selections of honored names, but especially noteworthy is that of Alpheus Spring Packard, who served for sixty-five years in the faculty of his Alma Mater, a record seldom equalled.

The move for an Alpha of Phi Beta Kappa for Bowdoin began shortly after the inauguration of President William Allen. The application reads:

> To the Brethren of the ΦBK, Alpha of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and New York.
> The Brethren, whose names are undersigned, are of opinion, that a branch of the ΦBK may now be established at Bowdoin College, with advantage to the Fraternity, and to this Literary Institution. They therefore request that a charter may be granted them, constituting them, with full powers, the Alpha of Maine.
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Hez. Packard | Parker Cleaveland |
> | Sam S. Wilde | Sam. P. Newman |
> | Josiah Stebbins | Will. Jenks |
> | Eliph. Gillet | Asa Cummings |
> | Stephen Longfellow Jr. | Will Thorndike |
> | William Allen | Benj. Ames |
> | John Abbot | Benj. Tappan |
>
> Bowdoin College
> September 1, 1820

The number of signers is unusual. The application came before the Alphas at their anniversary meetings in 1822. With eleven of its members signing the application, the Harvard Society gave enthusiastic approval, which was communicated to the other Alphas, but action at Yale on September 12, 1822, was not so favorable:

"The Society considered the application from Bowdoin College in Maine. A letter from the Alpha of Massachusetts declared that a large majority of that Alpha had voted in favor of granting the petition. The Alpha of Connecticut, after much debate voted negative on the grounds that 'Bowdoin College was not superior to many Colleges in the United States to which the ΦBK could not consistently, with the design and interests of the Society, be extended.'"

This brought a reply from Harvard, dated July 31, 1823:

"I was directed by a vote of the ΦBK Alpha of Massachusetts passed at their Anniversary in August last, to request the attention of your branch to the application from Brunswick for an extension of the Society to that

Literary Institution. It is the opinion of all gentlemen here that it would be well to grant the request, and we hope that on taking up the subject again, you will be disposed to concur with us."

When this letter was read in the following September, the Society at Yale "voted unanimously to comply."

Dartmouth received a similar letter from Harvard and appointed a committee to report a year later. On August 19, 1824, it was "voted to come over with the other Alphas of New England in granting a charter to Bowdoin College," and the corresponding secretary was directed to inform Professor Cleaveland of this vote.

At Union, in July, 1823, it was voted, because ". . . the Alpha of New York recently instituted and remote from said College is acquainted neither with the merits and standing of the same, nor with the conditions upon which such applications are usually granted, therefore Resolved, that the consideration of this question be postponed until the next Anniversary meeting."

A year later the Society concurred in the institution of an Alpha at Bowdoin College and, "Resolved that the request . . . be granted by the Alpha of New York, and that the Alpha of Connecticut grant them a charter if the measures coincide with their views of the welfare of the Society."

Copies of these resolutions were sent to Yale and Bowdoin. Professor Cleaveland wrote to Yale, asking that the charter be forwarded before "the last week of October, at which time they wish to organize the Society," since at that time "it is highly probable that a great number of brethren will be together at Brunswick."

The expectation of an early organization was not realized, although the charter was prepared and duly attested on "the twenty-fifth day of October, the year of our Lord the eighteen hundred and twenty-fourth, and of the Phi Beta Kappa Society the forty-eighth," by the signatures of Matthew R. Dutton, President, Charles H. Pond, vice-president, and Samuel J. Hitchcock, corresponding secretary.

Disregarding the form of the earlier charter, a text was drafted similar to that of William and Mary in 1779. The growth of the Society during the fifty years is recorded in the list of Alphas included in the opening paragraph:

"The Connecticut Alpha of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, to William Allen, Parker Cleaveland, or any other member of said Society residing at Brunswick or its vicinity—Greeting.

"Whereas it is repugnant to correct and honorable principles, that Literary Institutions should be confined to any particular place or community, but ought to be extended to the wise and virtuous of every situa-

tion and Country—and whereas application has been made to the different Alphas of this Society by several respectable gentlemen connected with Bowdoin College, in the State of Maine, to have an Alpha of this Society extended to, and established in that institution, which application has been granted by all the present branches of the Society—viz—the Alpha of Massachusetts at Cambridge, the Alpha of Connecticut at Yale College and the Alpha of New Hampshire at Dartmouth College, and the Alpha of New York at Union College—now, therefore the Connecticut Alpha does, by these present letters of Charter Party, give and delegate to you the said William Allen, Parker Cleaveland, or any other member of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, residing in Brunswick or its vicinity, the following rights, privileges, authority and power—that is to say—

"1st That at Bowdoin College in Brunswick, you establish a Fraternity of the Phi Beta Kappa to consist of no less than nine persons of honor, probity and good demeanour, which shall be denominated the Alpha of Maine."

The charter differs little from the one prepared at Harvard in 1787 to authorize the Alpha of New Hampshire at Dartmouth. The seal of the ΦBK at Yale was affixed. The charter was copied in the record book, but the document itself has disappeared.

Four busy years passed at Bowdoin between the sending of the application and the receipt of the charter. An important development was the organization of the medical school which brought a number of students to Brunswick and added to the reputation of the College. Other events enhanced the importance of Brunswick. The Maine Medical Society arranged to hold its annual meetings there, as did also the recently organized Maine Historical Society. So Bowdoin's commencements were beginning to attract attention and secured for the young college unusual prestige.

The record of their foundation meeting follows the transcript of the "Charter Party and Laws," and begins:

"A Charter and copy of laws having been received from the Alpha of Connecticut, authorizing the establishment of a branch of the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Bowdoin College, Maine, the following gentlemen, in consonance with the first article of the received Charter, held a Foundation Meeting on the 22nd of February 1825; viz; William Allen, Parker Cleaveland, Hezekiah Packard, John Abbot, Ichabod Nichols, Robert H. Gardiner, Eliphalet Gillet, Charles S. Daveis, Samuel P. Newman.

"H. Packard was chosen moderator, and S. P. Newman, secretary."

Several of the applicants were not present, including Trustees Wilde and Longfellow, and Professor Jenks and the four tutors who had left

the College. Rev. Ichabod Nichols, Harvard 1802, was a trustee; and Robert Hallowell Gardiner, Harvard 1801, and Charles Stewart Daveis, Bowdoin 1807, were overseers. The former were regular members of the Alpha of Massachusetts, and Mr. Daveis had in 1814 been made an honorary member. These nine men are listed as charter members in the Society's catalogues. With the exception of Eliphalet Gillet, from Dartmouth, all were members of the Harvard Society and President Allen and Professor Cleaveland had had sufficient connection with that Society to understand its methods.

A committee then brought in "A new draft of laws—with alterations, suited to the local convenience of the Society." These were adopted and voted to be the laws of the Society, and were then transcribed in the book of records following the charter. A page was headed:

Origin of the Phi Beta Kappa Society.

This draft is identical with the one prepared at Yale and forwarded to Union College, except that the date of the original organization was corrected. A comparison of the laws which follow with the constitution of the Alpha of New York reveals a difference in provisions and emphasis. The preamble is omitted, also two officers, the register and the judge of compositions. There was no provision for monthly meetings, but for an annual meeting only to be held at Brunswick on the day immediately succeeding the public commencement at Bowdoin College, at which "any business of the Society may be transacted or any subject connected with the interests of the Society discussed; and at this meeting only members may be admitted." It was further provided that only at this annual meeting might amendments be made to the laws, and then only in case they had been proposed in writing at a previous annual meeting. It was further provided that at the annual meeting an orator and poet were to perform in public before the Society. For their appointment specific regulations were provided. The most radical change was in the section governing the election and admission of members, the paragraphs of which are quoted:

"1. In the election of members, the Society shall direct their attention to the *talents, acquirements, character,* and *disposition* of the candidate.

"2. No person shall be admitted, unless by the unanimous vote of all the members present, which vote shall be taken by ballot.

"3. No undergraduate shall become a member of this Society.

"4. Every candidate for admission shall be proposed and recommended by three or more members in writing, certifying their personal knowledge of the candidate; and such recommendation shall be in the

following form, 'We the undersigned from personal knowledge recommend Mr. A. B. (titles, profession, residence) as a proper person to become a member of the Phi Beta Kappa Fraternity, and hereby propose and nominate him for admission.

"5. All nominations shall be read by the Recording Secretary in open meeting, and preserved on file, and any candidate thus nominated may be balloted for at the next meeting of the Society, provided twenty-eight days at least intervene between said meetings.

"6. Whenever any person is elected a member, he shall immediately be informed of the same by letter from the Recording Secretary, who shall request him to signify his acceptance or non-acceptance within one month, and who shall also name the time of the next meeting, at which his initiation may take place.

"7. At the annual meeting any suitable person may be admitted and initiated, whenever for special reasons, which shall be entered on record, the prescribed Forms of the Society shall be dispensed with for that purpose by an unanimous vote.

"8. Every member, at the time of his initiation, shall pay to the Treasurer the sum of *two dollars,* together with the price of the medal presented at the time of initiation."

These provisions respecting membership make no distinction between alumni and others not graduates of the College, nor is there any specific statement of a purpose to elect students from the class that had graduated the day before. There is, however, an intimation that such was the intention in another article which provides for a meeting to be held "on the fifth Tuesday preceding Commencement or at such time previous to Commencement as the Board of Trustees and Overseers of the College may convene. The particular object of this meeting is the nomination of members; and nominations in writing, according to the prescribed form, may at this time be received from absent members."

The provision in Law 3 that undergraduates should not become members of the Society was a radical change in the methods of the Phi Beta Kappa. Hitherto a large majority of all the members had been elected while still students. Though at Bowdoin the nomination of students must occur at least four weeks before the graduation, their initiation could not occur until the day following that event. No opportunity was offered for meetings of an immediate society, such as were held by all the other branches.

In explanation of this provision, it may be stated that there were on the campus at Bowdoin two literary societies—Peucinian and Athenaean, which had begun to assemble libraries and to provide public exercises at commencement. The first oration was before Peucinian in 1807 by a

member of the graduating class, Charles Stewart Daveis; it was so highly regarded that it was printed in *The Monthly Anthology* of Boston. Daveis became a lawyer of note in Portland, and having been made one of the first honorary members of the Society at Harvard, he became a charter member of the Bowdoin branch. In voting not to elect undergraduates, the Alpha of Maine followed a course without precedent. A statement in *The Eastern Chronicle* and *The Portland Argus* shortly after the granting of the charter, comments on advantages which the Fraternity would bring to the College.

"The establishment of the Phi Beta Kappa at Bowdoin will also have the beneficial effects of allaying the rivalship at present existing between the two literary societies in that place, which is productive of great inconvenience, since it induces them to seek recruits among the idle as well as the industrious and takes away one great motive to exertion by making literary distinction cease to be the reward of literary exertion. The branch at Bowdoin will probably be organized at the time that the new professors are inaugurated; and members will then be elected from the graduates and undergraduates."

Notwithstanding the custom of student elections, the decision was written into law that no undergraduate should become a member. This provision remained unchanged during more than seventy years, nearly a decade after the National Council had adopted undergraduate membership as a Phi Beta Kappa norm.

Another provision required the appointment by ballot at each annual meeting of a literary committee to consist of five persons whose duty it was to "assign subjects or questions connected with useful knowledge and the public good to different members of this Society, consulting their individual tastes and pursuits. And those members of the Society to whom subjects and questions may be thus assigned, shall examine the same, and in the form of Report or Dissertation present answers to the Committee, at least one month before the time of the next annual meeting. This committee shall report to the Society the result of their proceedings; and the answers aforesaid, or an abstract of them, shall be read, on which the Society shall take such order as they may deem expedient."

An excuse for these radical changes appears in Article 4: "that the code of laws herewith transmitted . . . shall be considered as *conclusive* and *binding*, and except in cases where *local* convenience alone may make it necessary, are not to be *altered* or liable to *innovation*."

Local convenience ruled. The requirements of regularity were also disregarded in another particular:

A discussion took place respecting the date to be inscribed on the medal, whether it should be the date of the first establishment of the

Society, or of the organization of the Alpha of Maine, and it was voted that it bear the date of the organization of the Alpha of Maine.

The meeting then adjourned until the following day at 4 o'clock when it was "voted—To proceed to the choice of officers to hold their offices till the day following the annual Commencement of this College." With the first anniversary in view, Judge Mellen was chosen orator and Professor Thomas C. Upham, poet.

The first amendment provided that the treasurer should render his accounts at the annual meeting. The second was more fundamental, for by Law 9, it forbade elections such as had already taken place:

"None but gentlemen, who have been regularly graduated as Alumni, at some public College, authorized by law to confer Degrees in the Arts, shall be admitted into this Society. But this shall not extend to authorize the admission of Alumni of any College, where a branch of this Society is established. Provided that nothing in this law shall be construed to affect the provision of Law 7, of this Section."

Of those then elected to honorary membership all were college graduates except Benjamin Vaughan of Hallowell, who had been a merchant in London and a member of Parliament. Two were graduates of Harvard, and the third of Dartmouth, but had not been accorded membership by those Alphas. Prentiss Mellen, a trustee of the College, had resigned a seat in the United States Senate to accept appointment as the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Maine; Benjamin Orr was also a trustee; John Doane Wells was professor in the new medical school. But for the proviso of Article 7, allowing such elections, they would have been debarred. From that time the rule was observed, for during a half century only fifteen were elected. Having completed these necessary preliminaries to the annual meeting, it was voted to dissolve the foundation meeting.

Thus in four sessions the new Alpha was organized and ready for its first annual meeting on September 8, 1825, the day following commencement. In the record book, immediately following the laws, the Form of Initiation is copied, with no explanation as to the time of its adoption.

"1. After the meeting is opened, the Recording Secretary shall call upon the person to be admitted, read to him the Laws, and obtain his signature to the following declaration,

"Whereas Literary Associations tend to accelerate the progress of useful knowledge by presenting to the members additional motives to exertion and increased means of improvement; and whereas such associations afford numerous opportunities of cultivating social and benevolent feelings. We, the undersigned, elected members of the Fraternity of the Phi Beta Kappa, and understanding that the cultivation of Science and

Philanthropy is its leading object, do hereby express our desire to become members. We do also promise obedience to the laws and regulations of this Society as they now exist, or as they may hereafter be altered by the Society.

"2. The person to be initiated shall then be introduced to the Society by the Recording Secretary, who shall present to the President the declaration and signature.

"The President (rising with the Society) shall address him as follows:

"Sir, You already understand, that Science and Philanthropy are the great objects of this Fraternity into which you are now to be admitted.

"The arcana of our Society relate not to its principles. Their only object is to prevent imposition, by enabling the Society to ascertain, when doubt exists, whether any person has been received as a member of some one of the branches.

"You have affixed your name to a promise of obedience of the laws. You do now, in the presence of these witnesses *pledge your honor, and solemnly promise,* that you will endeavour to promote the best interests of the Society, according to your ability and opportunity, keeping inviolate all the arcana of the Society.

"I do, therefore, in the name of the Phi Beta Kappa, Alpha of Maine, admit and declare you a member of this Fraternity. In testimony of which, I present you the medal of the Society, which, together with the other arcana, will be explained to you by the Recording Secretary.

"The Secretary is then to explain the *medal,* mode of knocking for admittance, shaking hands, and token of secrecy, with the Alphabet."

The record is quoted in part:

"On the day of that first annual meeting 'the Fraternity assembled at 8 o'clock. . . . About forty members from different Alphas were present.'

"The Charter with the doings of the Foundation meeting and the laws on the subject of the election and admission of members were then read," after which "it was voted to ballot for the admission of members." As a result twenty-four members were elected from twelve of the classes which had graduated between 1806 and 1825, and all but two were immediately initiated.

The Society then moved in procession to the Meeting House and attended the public performances of the day. The oration was delivered by Chief Justice Mellen and a poem by Professor Upham, and both were received favorably by a large and select audience.

It is interesting to read the account of the occasion in *The Portland Gazette of Maine,* September 13, 1825:

"The establishment of a branch of this Society at Bowdoin College has long been regarded as an object of no ordinary importance by the

friends of that respectable institution. Its first public celebration on Thursday last, accordingly, attracted a highly intelligent and respectable auditory. Among the guests we noticed Count Vidua, from Italy, and M. Neiderstetter, Prussian Chargé d'Affaires to the United States. A large number from the other branches of the Society were also present at this meeting and in the duties and entertainments of the day.

"The Oration by Chief Justice Mellen was replete with just sentiments and practical views respecting mental discipline, moral purity and the cultivation of the better feelings of the heart;—and there was a peculiar appropriateness in illustrating and enforcing the principles and objects for which the Society was instituted. The poem by Professor Upham, was written in a style of unaffected simplicity, combining good taste with a chastened and well regulated imagination. But it is not our province, if it were in our power, to offer any analysis of either of these excellent performances. The gratification they both afforded to an intelligent and discriminating audience is the most satisfactory evidence of their superior merits."

The organization of the Alpha of Maine offered several radical departures from the methods at Yale, Harvard, and Dartmouth. These divergences show trends of thought in the Society. The leaders did not feel bound by precedents set at the organization at Union College eight years before. The control of the Society was placed with the faculty and graduate and honorary members. Since there were no undergraduate members, no offices could be held by students during their senior year.

At Bowdoin, as at Union, there were three classes of members. Both selected distinguished men. In these elections Bowdoin was far more conservative than Union, for during the first ten years only seven were chosen, all residents of the State. At Union fifty-six were taken, several from outside New York.

In the election of graduates from classes before the charter of Phi Beta Kappa, Bowdoin showed a liberality similar to that at Union. At Union about twenty per cent were elected; at Bowdoin twenty-two per cent, and the percentage later rose to thirty-four, which was unusually liberal. No restrictions whatever had been imposed so long as attention was paid to the "talents, acquirements, character, and disposition" of candidates. This is seen also in the selection of students then graduating. For two years none of these were at once elected. In some cases members-elect waited several years before being formally initiated. Therefore at Bowdoin no students or recent graduates had part in the direction of the Alpha. An occasional attendance at the annual meeting, including public exercises and dinner, was the extent of their privileges. In one respect Bowdoin

followed tradition more closely than did the Alpha at Union. It insisted that members-elect should present themselves for initiation.

Long before this the custom arose of placing in nomination at the statute meeting in August the highest ranking students in the class soon to graduate. These would be in an expectant attitude on the day following the commencement, and, when notified of their election, would be ready for initiation just before the procession was formed. Thus a good part of those elected may be considered members in course, though their elections followed the actual reception of their degrees.

It has been noted that the concluding paragraph of the ritual directs the secretary to explain the medal and the "mode of knocking for admittance, shaking hands, and token of secrecy, with the alphabet." This seems to be the first reference to symbols and methods in addition to those adopted at William and Mary. An explanation of the reference appears in "An Historical Sketch of Phi Beta Kappa" by George Dwight Kellogg:

"There are a few facts of antiquarian interest which should be referred to briefly. The 'sign' was a left to right stroking of the chin. The 'grip' was an ordinary clasping of the hands without locking of thumbs, but with a slight pressure on the wrist. The 'knock' consisted of three raps, two soft and one loud, in anapaestic rhythm. The college bell used to announce the time of meeting by a rough imitation of the old Society cry, 'Phi ai ai, Phi Beta Kappa.'"

In the minutes of a meeting for initiation, July 6, 1827, the secretary wrote: "A most excellent address was delivered to our younger Brethren and afterwards the enigmatical letters and symbols of the Society were explained."

A later statement, respecting the meeting of June 29, 1829, adds "the manner of knock at the door." These additions to the symbols seem to have been devised at Yale but were accepted at Bowdoin only. No reference had been found to their use elsewhere. At Yale only was the bell rung to announce the time of meetings of student societies.

At the initiation of members at Bowdoin, new members were not told officially the history of the Society, or of the existence of other branches. There was no reference to the College of William and Mary in Virginia. The medal they received bore the date February 22, 1825, nearly fifty years later than the historic day at Williamsburg.

So far as the records show, no formal report of the organization at Bowdoin was made to the other Alphas. In 1831 its first catalogue gave notice of its activity, but did not include a list of the other branches.

The provision of the Bowdoin Alpha for the selection of an orator and a poet for each anniversary was followed regularly. At the first, second and fourth anniversaries, both poet and orator spoke. Henry W. Long-

fellow was the poet in 1832. During the next fifteen years only four poets are noted, but an orator spoke on every anniversary for the first thirty years, with two exceptions.

The innovations that were written into the constitution of the Alpha of Maine did not prove fruitful. There are no reminders of the early days at Yale, Harvard and Dartmouth, probably because faculty and graduates, and not students, were directing affairs. It was a "Graduate Fraternity."

The method of selecting members at Bowdoin made it difficult to prepare an accurate catalogue. The committee, having catalogues of the other Societies, chose the college-year classification with no indication of the beginning of a member's formal relation to Phi Beta Kappa.

The first catalogue, issued in 1834, was of sixteen pages. The inner title page contained "Fraternity of Φ B K," "Bowdoin College, Brunswick, 1834" and "From the Press of Joseph Griffin." Members are listed as of the eighteen classes that had been graduated before the chapter was organized, the number received being sixty-three. The first name is that of Charles S. Daveis of the class of 1807. Although an honorary member at Harvard, he became a charter member of Bowdoin, and is so listed in later catalogues. In the nine college classes from 1825 to 1833, are the names of fifty-four members, an average of six per class. Two unusual lists follow, the "Alumni of this College [who] have been admitted Members of the Fraternity, but not initiated"; and a "Catalogue of Members of the Φ B K, resident in Maine, but not Alumni of Bowdoin College." Of these members of other branches thirty-nine were from Harvard, thirty-six from Dartmouth and six from Yale; two were honorary members of the Alpha. The State of Maine had a total of one hundred and forty-three members.

Catalogues of similar character were issued in 1842 and 1849. The fourth, in 1860, did not contain the list of members-elect who had not presented themselves for initiation, but enrolled them as regular members.

The practice of listing with their classmates members elected as alumni has led to many incorrect statements. For example, Nathaniel Hawthorne and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow were graduated at Bowdoin the year that Phi Beta Kappa was organized there, and their names appeared in later catalogues under the class heading, 1825; so it has been stated that they were among the first to be made members of the Society. The facts are otherwise, for Longfellow, elected in 1826, was not initiated until after his return from study abroad in 1829; Hawthorne was elected in 1842. As with Franklin Pierce, who also was elected in 1842, there is no indication of their interest in the Society, for their names do not appear on the manuscript roll which members signed. At the time

of election, Pierce was United States Senator from New Hampshire, and Nathaniel Hawthorne was writing the books that gave him great distinction.

Before we leave Bowdoin, it is interesting to read the declaration which was signed by those who became members of the Chapter:

"Whereas Literary Associations tend to accelerate the progress of useful knowledge by presenting to the members additional motives to exertion and increased means of improvement,

"And whereas such associations afford numerous opportunities of cultivating social and benevolent feelings,

"We the Undersigned, elected members of the Fraternity of the Φ B K, and understanding that the cultivation of Science and Philanthropy is its leading object, do hereby express our desire to become members. We do also promise obedience to the laws and regulations of this Society as they now exist, or as they may be hereafter altered by the Society."

The Alpha of Rhode Island at Brown University

Rhode Island College emerged gradually from the War for American Independence. President Manning was president until his death in 1791, at which time Jonathan Maxcy, at the age of twenty-four, became his successor. During his term two literary societies were formed, Misekosmian, 1794, later called Philormenian, and Philandrian, 1799.

Some young alumni, assisted by professors, organized in 1797 the Federal Adelphi, which for almost a third of a century had standing similar to Phi Beta Kappa at Yale, Harvard, and Dartmouth. It provided for the election not only of undergraduates but also of graduates and men of distinction in Providence and neighboring communities. It came to have a high reputation in the State.

The Adelphi had scarcely begun its career when President Maxcy resigned from Brown to become president of Union College. He was succeeded by Asa Messer. Soon thereafter, in recognition of a gift of $5,000 made by Nicholas Brown of Providence, to endow a professorship of oratory and belles-lettres, the name was changed to "Brown University in the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations." A medical school was begun in 1811, with a staff of professors which soon included five widely known scientists and physicians who lectured at the college without giving up their private studies or practice. In 1815 the Hon. Tristam Burges was appointed the first occupant of the chair of oratory and belles lettres, also without the obligation to give up his practice of the law or public office.

The closing years of President Messer's administration were disturbed

by controversy. Discipline was thought to be "relaxed," and the President and a few members of the Corporation were suspected of having succumbed to the Unitarian "heresy." Criticism from the orthodox supporters of the college led to the President's resignation in 1826, and the appointment of a successor who was young, vigorous, and theologically conservative. Francis Wayland became president at the age of 31, in February, 1827; and immediately instituted reforms which kindled anew the fires of controversy. As a result of the conflict which followed, the Federal Adelphi died and the Alpha of Rhode Island was born.

If in the founding of the Federal Adelphi and its development as a "Rhode Island institution," there was some evidence of pique at Phi Beta Kappa's refusal of a charter in 1790, the older society was imitated in the Adelphi's program. There evidently grew up some sense of fellowship or solidarity, for in 1808 a letter was written to the Alpha at Cambridge with regard to its "mode of taxation" of members—the Adelphi having attempted with little success to collect quarterly dues from its Alumni. More significantly, at the Anniversary Meeting, September 7, 1826, three weeks before President Messer's resignation and five months before his successor, Francis Wayland, took office, the Adelphi voted "that the Hon. Tristam Burges, Joseph L. Tillinghast, Esq. and the Rev. Samuel Deane, be appointed a Committee to take into consideration the expediency of this Corporation applying to become a Branch of the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Cambridge, and that they report at the next Anniversary Meeting."

This is the only instance in which an already existing Society proposed union with Phi Beta Kappa. No report was presented at the next meeting, but a letter from the Rev. Mr. Deane to the Corresponding Secretary of the "Society at Cambridge," dated September 10, 1827, has been preserved. In it, without advancing the proposal of wholesale assimilation, he states that an application from some Brown Alumni would have been presented at "your late meeting, had it not been, that thirty years ago, a similar application . . . was made and rejected . . . I was requested to enquire, whether an application in the present state of things might probably be successful." He mentions as signers of a projected petition, several distinguished members of the Adelphi, including U. S. Senator William Hunter, of the Class of 1791, the Hon. Tristam Burges, U. S. Representative John Reed, of the Class of 1813, Massachusetts Supreme Court justice (later Governor) Marcus Morton, of the Class of 1804, and the diplomat and future authority on international law, Henry Wheaton of the Class of 1802.

So far as is known, nothing came of this inquiry from the Adelphi. Meanwhile the new President of the University effected sweeping changes,

one of the earliest of which aroused a storm of criticism: a vote of the Corporation that no salary be paid to a professor who did not occupy a college room throughout each term and devote his whole time to instruction and discipline. Six "non-resident professors" were thus removed to the inactive list, five connected with the Medical School, which was thus indirectly killed, and the sixth, the professor of oratory, the Hon. Tristam Burges, president since 1815 of the Federal Adelphi.

While the controversy raged in private and in the public press, with the "Association of the Alumni" (the Federal Adelphi) and its leader as a center, President Wayland quietly proceeded to institute his own application for a Phi Beta Kappa Charter. He thus sought to cut the ground from under his opponents of the Adelphi (if he knew of their prior inquiry) and to fortify himself by the support of a Society of his own—one of which he was already a member.

Through the intermediation of the Hon. John Pickering he secured from Edward Everett, president of the Alpha of Massachusetts, the following advice as to procedure:

"I believe the course to be pursued is not marked out, by any written rule of procedure nor any distinctly ascertained usage. In earlier times, a single branch admitted other branches. A few years since, a branch was established at Bowdoin, by consent of all the other branches. This was done by means of a written request, signed by the brethren of the Phi Beta Kappa resident at Brunswick, and addressed to us at Cambridge; and, as I suppose, also to the Societies at the other colleges.

"There is a good deal, which is loose in this mode of proceeding, and I think it would be well to have a regular course, adopted by consent of all the branches. Meantime, I think the most expeditious mode of procedure will be that, which I suppose to have been followed, in the case of Brunswick, viz: A petition of the Members or member of the Phi Beta Kappa, residing at Providence, addressed to all the Branches, in season to be acted upon at the approaching Anniversary meetings."

Copies of the application are preserved at Brown and at Yale, signed by Francis Wayland. It reads:

"To the Massachusetts Alpha of the Phi Beta Kappa.

"Gentlemen: The undersigned, President of Brown University, in behalf of the Faculty thereof, begs leave to represent, that the Institution over which he presides, is, after Harvard University and Yale College, the oldest college in New England; having been incorporated in one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four; that from that time until the present, except for a few years during the Revolutionary War, it has been in regular and successful operation; that its requirements for admission are equal to those of the oldest colleges in New England; and its course of study is as ele-

vated; and that its officers devote themselves exclusively to the business of instruction. Of the success attendant upon their labors the public have ample opportunity to form an opinion.

"The undersigned, therefore, in behalf of said Faculty, respectfully requests that a charter may be granted by Harvard University, establishing the Rhode Island Alpha of Phi Beta Kappa at Brown University."

President Wayland sought also the influence of prominent members of the Alpha of Massachusetts and favorable responses from two of them are preserved—one from Joseph Story, who had been invited to attend the commencement, but had declined, since he was at the same time to be installed as Dane Professor of Law at Harvard; and another from James Gould, who at the time was head of a successful law school at Litchfield, Connecticut.

Daniel Appleton White, Harvard 1797, who wrote from Salem, July 24, 1829, promised to support the application, ". . . there can be but one opinion upon the claims of your University, and I am sure the brethren here have but one feeling as to extending their Fraternity to you. It is what I have long wished, and to see it accomplished will afford me great pleasure."

An encouraging letter, dated August 20, 1829, came from Edward Everett, President of the Alpha at Harvard:

"I will, with great cheerfulness, support your application for a branch of the Φ B K, at your University, and request my friends to do the same. Your selection of a Commission to establish it, should a charter be obtained, is highly acceptable to me, and should the designation be left to the Chair, I will certainly nominate the gentlemen named by you.

"I agree with you in opinion, that it is not necessary to obtain the assent of more than the three older branches, for the erection of a new one."

At the anniversary meeting at Harvard that year it was voted:

"That a charter be prepared and transmitted to Brown University at the approaching Commencement, and that a Committee be appointed to repair to Providence at the same time and organize the Branch thus authorized; the selection of this Committee being left with the President."

The day following the anniversary at Harvard, Edward Everett wrote to President Wayland:

"I have the pleasure to inform you that we voted yesterday nem. con. to grant you a charter, and that it should be forwarded to you before your Commencement next week. *All* the gentlemen named by you pleaded inability to serve on the Commission, and it was left to me to supply their place. If you will send me the names of persons, who would be acceptable

to you, I will request their attendance. It would be well for you to name more than three, in order to supply vacancies."

It became evident that action by Yale and Dartmouth would not be received in time to effect the organization at the commencement of September 1, 1829. However, the Alphas eventually voted favorably. The action at Yale was reported by the corresponding secretary, Isaac H. Townsend, on September 11, 1829:

"Your petition was presented to this branch of the Society at a general meeting on the 8th inst. and it affords me great pleasure to be able to inform you that the petition was *granted.* I trust that the *other Alphas* will also yield their assent to your application for a charter—and that the members of Brown's University, who shall be worthy of the honor, may soon enjoy the privileges of our noble association."

The fact that an application had been made was kept secret at Brown University for a year. Why President Wayland did not ask for the formal charter, contemplated in all the resolutions, is not known. Edward Everett was not inclined to give attention to such details, and doubtless considered his letter as sufficient warrant for the organization of the Alpha. Naturally, President Wayland took the lead in arranging for the organization. Of the first meeting, on July 21, 1830, the account reads:

"Two of the commissioners appointed by the President of the Alpha of Massachusetts, Rev. Francis Wayland, and Mr. John Wayland, met and elected Rev. T. T. Waterman as a joint commissioner for the establishment of a new branch of the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Brown University.

"On the same day the three above named commissioners met at President Wayland's room, and were organized by choosing President Wayland for chairman and Mr. J. Wayland for scribe.

"The above letter to the Alphas of Massachusetts, of New Hampshire, and of Connecticut was read, as also the respective answers from each, containing their assent to the establishment of a new branch at Brown University.

"The bye laws of the Alpha of Massachusetts, signed by the president of that branch, were also read.

"It was accordingly *resolved* that the preceding is according to the usage of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, on the establishing of a new branch, and,

"That we now proceed to the election of members to constitute the Rhode Island Alpha of the Phi Beta Kappa Society.

"On counting the ballots, the following gentlemen were found to be elected, to wit:

"Professors William G. Goddard, Romeo Elton and Alexis Caswell, and Mr. George Burgess.

"The initiation of these gentlemen took place on the same day. The Society adjourned."

The men elected to membership were the whole faculty of the College aside from the two Waylands already members at Union: Goddard, professor of moral philosophy, metaphysics, and belles-lettres; Elton, of Latin and Greek languages and literature; Caswell, mathematics and natural philosophy; and Burgess, a tutor. Ten days later "the Society met according to adjournment at the room of President Wayland," all the members except Waterman being present. They then proceeded to the election of officers. Thus the Phi Beta Kappa was instituted before the officers of the Federal Adelphi had heard that an organization was contemplated.

Two weeks intervened before a third meeting was called and then a list containing the names of seventy-eight alumni and two members of the senior class was presented. All were elected. On August 23, eighty-eight alumni and four seniors were elected and on the following day the list was completed by the election of three members from the class of 1831. On September 6, the secretary, Professor Caswell, forwarded reports to the other Alphas, naming fifty-seven as having subscribed to the constitution. Hence the Society at the commencement presented a creditable group of members. Of the alumni fifty-five were lawyers, of whom many were serving or had served in state legislatures, and twelve in the Congress of the United States. One was a United States Senator, thirteen were judges, two held diplomatic posts, thirty-nine were ministers, two of whom were missionaries—Adoniram Judson, who had been in Burma for eighteen years, and Cyrus Kingsbury, who had been working among the American Indians and was to continue for forty years. Thirty others were professors, librarians, and tutors, and thirteen were physicians or medical students. Seven were merchants and bankers. Of these 166 alumni, all but twenty-one qualified by presenting themselves for initiation and signing the roll. A few, including former President Messer, Secretary of the Corporation Samuel Eddy, and Professor Tristam Burges, evidently were hostile to the new organization and would have nothing to do with it.

As many of the new members belonged also to the Federal Adelphi, the question of relationship was raised. An article in *The Providence Journal* on commencement day compared the two societies and pleaded for a revival of interest in the Adelphi, stating that it is "to Brown University precisely what Phi Beta Kappa is to Cambridge." It stated that, if the "foreign Institution" should flourish, it could do so only on the ruins of the Adelphi. This proved to be the case. In 1831 there were two assemblies, one on commencement day, at which President Wayland was orator for

Phi Beta Kappa, the other the following day in the First Congregational Meeting House, when Tristam Burges delivered what proved to be the funeral oration of the Adelphi. Phi Beta Kappa rapidly took the place held by the Federal Adelphi for thirty-three years, having the benefit of fellowship with five other branches, and the prestige of a name that had been gaining respect for a half century.

The code, copied with slight amendments from the laws of the Society at Harvard, was adopted on August 21, and provided for a dual organization—a "Society at large," responsible for the conduct of all important business, including the election of graduates and others to honorary membership at anniversary or special meetings. Also, an "immediate Society," with power to elect not more than one-third of the members of a class, and not before the third term of the junior year of the class to be elected, but at any subsequent time in their academic career. A unanimous vote was necessary, but a single objector was "required to assign his reasons for objecting." It was further provided that no person who was a graduate or undergraduate of any other university or college where there already existed a branch of the Society was to be elected a member of this branch.

The anniversary meeting was to be held on the day after commencement, in the chapel of Brown University at 10 o'clock. Provisions for selecting orators and poets were to be the same as at Harvard. There were no stated meetings of the immediate members; three were sufficient to form a quorum for the transaction of business. The recording secretary was to submit at the anniversary meetings the record book in his keeping to the inspection of the Society; he also made a report of the persons who had been elected since the previous annual meeting.

The initiation fee, two dollars, was to be collected by the treasurer from every person on becoming a member of the Society. In addition, the new member had to "provide himself with a medal corresponding to that hitherto worn by the Society." A committee of undergraduates was to make the usual preparations for the celebration of the anniversary, the expenses of which were to be defrayed by an equal assessment upon the members from the graduating class.

The "Form of Initiation," a part of the constitution, followed the form at Yale. The members-elect, on being introduced by "their conductor," were to be addressed by the president:

"Gentlemen:

"In consequence of our good opinion of your intellectual and moral character, we have elected you members of this Society. But before you hear its Constitution read we request an answer to the following question.

"If upon hearing the principles of this Institution you should dislike

them and retire, do you promise on the honor of gentlemen to keep them secret?"

Then, the laws having been read, the president administered the following promise, "You solemnly promise that you will be true and faithful to this Society, that you will obey the Laws, and preserve inviolate the secrets of the same, and that in the election of members, you will have exclusive regard to moral character and literary merit."

The president explained the medal and signs, and addressed the initiates:

"Gentlemen:

"You have now become members in full of the Rhode Island Alpha of the Phi Beta Kappa, and by consequence members in full of this Fraternity throughout the United States. Pursuing the high objects which this association has always kept in view, and in the election of members having exclusive reference to literary merit and moral worth, our brethren of the other Alphas have rendered honorable the appellation of Phi Beta Kappa. We charge you that you sully not this well merited reputation. Let this Alpha confer new distinction on the ancient and illustrious association of which it has become a member. May this star shine with unsurpassed brilliancy in that splendid constellation which has poured so pure a radiance over the literary character of our country."

The Alpha at Brown showed its adaptability by accepting a constitution from Harvard and a ritual from Yale and in making such amendments as were found desirable. An early vote authorized the purchase of a chest in which records and papers were to be kept. The ballot box, lettered in gilt, with its complement of white balls, has been used from the Alpha's earliest days.

A simpler form was provided for the reception of student members: "When any person has been elected, and has consented to become an immediate member of the Society, he shall be conducted to the meeting next ensuing, by a person designated by the Society for that purpose. The Laws shall then be read to him, and he shall subscribe his name to them, and the medal shall then be explained to him by the presiding Officer."

Early Years of the Alpha of Rhode Island

The organization of this Alpha was announced at some anniversary gatherings in 1830. If members at Union felt aggrieved because they had not been asked to give consent, that does not appear in the records.

At Bowdoin there was indignation, though it was courteously expressed. On July 16, 1831, P. Cleaveland of Bowdoin wrote to Edward Everett that "at the annual meeting of the Maine Alpha of the Φ B K in

September last a communication was received, purporting that it proceeded from a Rhode Island Alpha," and quoted the laws to the effect that a unanimous vote of all the Alphas was required for the admission of a new branch. A month later he wrote again to request that the Alpha of Maine be informed of action on this matter at the coming anniversary at Cambridge. At Brown it was reported at the Annual Meeting in 1838 "that some members of this Alpha had, on presenting themselves at the Alpha of Maine at Bowdoin College, not been recognized as members of the Fraternity at Large"; and a committee was appointed to look into the matter, which apparently made no report. In 1839 the Alpha of Maine "voted, that the subject of the irregular establishment of an Alpha at Brown University be recommitted to a committee with directions to report in writing." The subject was closed in 1840 by a report recommending no further action.

Under Francis Wayland, the University meanwhile was making real progress. "Massive and stalwart of frame, with strongly marked features and piercing eyes he seemed to his pupils the incarnation of majesty and power . . . In order to better intellectual conditions he changed completely the style of teaching. He taught students not only to memorize, but to think. Gradual changes were made in the College Curriculum and the standard of scholarship was correspondingly raised."

This progress was not rapid enough for President Wayland, who proposed in his report of 1849, through a system of electives, the "attainment of the Degree of Bachelor of Arts after three years of study, and the granting of the Master's Degree at the end of the fourth year." He also proposed examinations for honors, in the English style. The reforms were officially adopted, but through non-cooperation on the part of the faculty, never became effective and were soon repealed.

After five years as president of the Alpha he was succeeded by Theron Metcalf 1805, of Dedham, Massachusetts, who was prominent in the civic life of that state. After three years in the House of Representatives he was chosen Senator. Later he was an Associate Justice of the State Supreme Court, and author of several important works on laws and legal practice. As president of the Alpha he was succeeded after a second term by John Pitman 1799, who was then a Justice of the United States District Court, an office he held for forty years.

Professor William Giles Goddard, who had been vice-president, was chosen president for three consecutive terms. Thereafter the vice-president was usually chosen president and continued in office for two years; thus each president had four years of consecutive service.

There were fewer corresponding secretaries, thirteen in half a century, and even fewer treasurers, seven in the same length of time. It is not

known whether other corresponding secretaries followed the example of Alexis Caswell and sent annual reports to the other Alphas with lists of new members, but the branch's own roll was carefully kept. It issued its first catalogue in 1839, including members under their respective classes, beginning with 1775 and continuing until 1839. In the classes of 1775 to 1830 are 100 names, thereafter 84 were elected as alumni.

The introduction to the first catalogue, which marked the Alpha's ninth anniversary, contains the following statement:

"The Fraternity of Phi Beta Kappa had in 1839 six branches, viz.:

"The Alpha of Massachusetts at Harvard University; the Alpha of Connecticut at Yale College; the Alpha of New Hampshire at Dartmouth College; the Alpha of New York at Union College; the Alpha of Rhode Island at Brown University; the Alpha of Maine at Bowdoin College."

Graduate members of the Alpha of Rhode Island totalled 184, immediate members 8, making a grand total of 192 members in the chapter.

The catalogue included an alphabetical index and a list with this explanation: "The following Gentlemen, Graduates of Brown University, and others, have also been elected Members of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, but have never attended for Initiation." Of the 109 names in this list, twelve who had died were marked with asterisks, and five with daggers, as having declined membership.

This catalogue and the one issued in 1862 show a normal growth. Although in some periods elections fell short of a full one-third of those who received A.B. degrees, the number later elected as alumni carried the average nearly to that proportion. These tables show the elections for fifty years:

Decade	*Graduates*	*Students*	*Alumni*	*Honorary*
1830–39	254	75	206	8
1840–49	310	105	21	6
1850–59	307	86	7	14
1860–69	293	101	29	8
1870–79	505	150	57	17
Total	1,669	517	320	53

As the Alpha of Rhode Island made no provision for undergraduate exercises, it had no need for fines. Initiation fees of $2 each constituted its primary source of income. Alexis Caswell, the temporary treasurer, on October 26, 1830, turned over to Robert H. Ives, his successor, $110, as the initial entry shown by the book that was then purchased. It is interesting for us, a hundred years later, to read the expenses of the organization: stationery, $4.87; printing $6.25; advertising $1.00; $12.12 in all. The following March, a bill for fourteen medals at $2.95 each—$41.30—was paid.

A report from the treasury of September, 1831, showed a balance of $115.42. The treasurer presented his accounts for auditing at the business session at commencement. This regularity in recording financial transactions gives the Brown Society unique distinction. The Harvard Alpha had waited thirteen years before providing a similar book, and no other branch preserved records of its financial transactions.

The Alpha adopted the form of medal or key (both terms are used from the beginning) with a lower stem, under the influence of the usage at Yale and Union. The design of the engraving went through an extraordinary number of changes during the following thirty years—introducing a variety of local features.

The Alpha at Brown made an effort to fit into the life of the University. Its undergraduate membership was small. Six were elected from the class of 1830, the average for five years; in the next five years the average rose to nine. In 1853, the committee of appointment and arrangements deemed it expedient to waive the usual arrangement of a literary anniversary in order that the members of the Society might unite with the graduates generally in an alumni festival. After 1855, the alumni arranged such a gathering for odd years, and the Phi Beta Kappa orations were held in even years. Thirty-five anniversaries were publicly celebrated from 1831 to 1880. During the first ten years, five poets spoke; thereafter, only three in forty years, one being George William Curtis of New York, who is credited with publishing the fullest account extant of the centennial of the Alpha of Massachusetts at Harvard in 1881. Of the first fifteen orations, ten were published.

In the selection of orators and poets, the Society showed unusual catholicity in electing Francis Wayland and George W. Bethune of Union, Oliver Wendell Holmes, George S. Hillard, Caleb Cushing, Alexander H. Everett, Francis C. Gray, Charles Eliot Norton, Frederick D. Huntington, Andrew P. Peabody, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Phillips Brooks, and William Everett, all of Harvard, Thatcher Thayer and Alexander H. Bullock of Amherst, and Asher Robbins and Andrew Dickson White of Yale.

A law expressly prohibited requests for manuscripts for publication, yet nearly half of them were published or carefully reviewed. It was a custom at Brown to appoint regularly a chaplain, and the list included many clergymen of prominence.

The archives at Brown are unusually rich in documents. They contain reports of the reorganization of the original Society at William and Mary in 1851 and of the organization of the Alpha of Alabama. Equally important is the only known copy of the printed notice by which the chapters were invited to send delegates to the first Phi Beta Kappa convention at

Cambridge, June 30, 1881. The chest in which the documents were preserved has served the chapter for more than a century.

For fifteen years after 1830, the six Alphas made no effort to plant scions in other colleges. Then, with the chartering in 1845 of a Beta of Connecticut at Trinity College and a Gamma of Connecticut at Wesleyan University, a more militant spirit began to prevail.

The Greek Letter Social Fraternity Movement

At the formation of the Alpha at Union College, in 1817, leadership rested with the faculty and graduate members. The laws provided for bi-monthly meetings with papers, orations, and discussions by undergraduate members, but the Society did not belong to them. They shared in the selection of members from junior and senior classes, but the initiations were conducted by the officers.

There was a Greek letter society at Union College before Phi Beta Kappa: the Phi Beta Gamma. During the four years between the application and the charter, students who were interested decided to form a society of their own and sent this petition "To the Honorable, the Board of Trustees of Union College."

"The undersigned in behalf of the Φ B Γ Society, request your honorable Body to incorporate their association. We submit our Constitution to your inspection humbly conceiving it needs no comment. From this, it will be perceived that our object is the establishment of an institution whose usefulness shall be more extensive than any before founded in College. With your sanction and encouragement we hope one day to equal the learned Societies of this Country both in fame and utility. Relying on the disposition ever manifested by your honorable Body to promote the cause of Science and Literature, with confidence, we submit our petition.

Nicholas F. Beck
Horace Goodrich
Gilbert Morgan
Committee."

Beck and Goodrich were two of thirteen members who had signed the application for Phi Beta Kappa.

The Phi Beta Gamma Society continued at Union for ten years, at least. It then passed out of the records, overshadowed by Phi Beta Kappa, which was supported by the President of the College and the faculty. Continuance at Union College of these two Greek letter societies inspired a third, Kappa Alpha, organized in 1825 by students in an effort to realize ideals of fraternity. By this social fraternity movement Phi Beta Kappa was later influenced to accept honor society status.

The student who has been given credit for Kappa Alpha was John H. Hunter, class of 1826. During his senior year, with six seniors and two juniors, he organized a new society. Plans were developed, not unlike those of Phi Beta Kappa at William and Mary in 1776. The founders of Kappa Alpha were not aware of this and believed that they were originating a new type of Greek letter fraternity.

The badge was square, of silver, engraved on both sides. The obverse displayed the letters, K A, surrounded by the signs of the zodiac, while corners were adorned with Hebrew characters. In the center of the reverse was a coffin surmounted by the rising sun, above a scroll, in which was the name of the owner. Beneath the coffin were the letters C.C.—Collegium Concordiae.

The founders of Kappa Alpha knew of Phi Beta Kappa, for on July 14, 1825, four months before the organization of the new society, two juniors, and six months later, three of their associates, were elected to membership. Of the nine founders of Kappa Alpha, seven became members of the Union branch of Phi Beta Kappa. They did not consider their new Greek letter society a rival but accepted membership as an honor in which they could take satisfaction.

The founding of Kappa Alpha at Union College as an undergraduate Greek letter fraternity stimulated the organization, two years later, of two similar societies, Sigma Phi and Delta Phi. The three became known as the "Union Triad," and in 1833, a fourth came into existence, Psi Upsilon.

Information concerning these societies soon spread through the college world and other Greek letter fraternities arose. None of them considered Phi Beta Kappa a rival, but in a class by itself, in which members could accept membership as evidence of scholarly standing. These facts show the impression which was beginning to prevail among the colleges, that Phi Beta Kappa was an honor society. This position was readily accorded it by the newer fraternities. They persisted in maintaining student control, which Phi Beta Kappa had relinquished, thus becoming the progenitor of the honor society system. It was not long before these societies began developing an inter-society relationship and the publication of magazines. Soon charters were granted for new branches which came to be called chapters. During the twenty-five years after the beginning of Kappa Alpha, fraternities appeared in all the colleges in which Phi Beta Kappa had branches.

At Union three fraternities were added to the four already mentioned, Delta Upsilon, 1838, Chi Psi, 1841, and Theta Delta Chi, 1847. At Hamilton, Sigma Phi was organized, 1831; Alpha Delta Phi, 1832; Psi Upsilon, 1843; Chi Psi, 1845; and Delta Upsilon, 1847. At Williams appeared Sigma

Phi and Delta Upsilon, 1834; Beta Theta Pi and Chi Psi, 1847; and Zeta Psi, 1848. At Miami University in Ohio there was Beta Theta Pi, 1839; Phi Delta Theta, 1848; and Sigma Chi, 1855. New York University had Sigma Phi and Alpha Delta Phi, 1835; Psi Upsilon, 1837; Delta Phi, 1841; Zeta Psi and Delta Psi, 1847.

For a decade after 1825 social fraternities did not enter any of the other colleges where Phi Beta Kappa existed. In 1850 the total in seventeen colleges was sixty-three. Union kept the lead with seven; Williams and New York University, six; Hamilton and Columbia, five; Amherst, Bowdoin and Brown, four; Miami, Yale, Harvard, Wesleyan, Western Reserve and Rutgers, all with three; Dartmouth, two; Middlebury and Vermont, each with one. In these same seventeen colleges during the next ten years thirty additional chapters were organized, Yale being the only one to refuse admission to other societies. Such was the increase in fraternities that at the end of twenty-five years, in the six Phi Beta Kappa colleges, there were twenty-three chapters in all—seven in Union, three each in Yale and Harvard, four each in Brown and Bowdoin, and two in Dartmouth.

The principal effect of this development upon Phi Beta Kappa was to give emphasis to its claim to be an honor society and to the tendency to restrict undergraduate activities. It accepted the conclusion that it would be futile to promote the kind of activities which the new fraternities were already supporting. The new fraternities helped Phi Beta Kappa clarify and maintain its position as an honor society.

Phi Beta Kappa and Secrecy

The requirement of secrecy was first questioned by Elisha Parmele in 1779 when he applied for charters for New England colleges. However, he accepted secrecy as a fundamental principle and bore charters requiring "that the arcana of this Society be held inviolate." A few years later the oath of fidelity was modified at Yale; but in 1806, when it was proposed at Harvard to change the oath to a mere affirmation, a minority at Yale sent so strong a protest that the movement did not go farther.

The Fraternal Society of Free and Accepted Masons had come into prominence during the War for American Independence, when officers became members and gave it standing as a patriotic organization. Later its methods and secrets were frequently the subject of discussion and friends of the Society feared that controversies might obscure the real values of the brotherhood.

A crisis arose when it became known that a book exposing the secrets of Masonry by an alleged member, William Morgan of Batavia, New

York, had been written and that a local printer was advertising it as ready for publication. Fellow Masons were indignant that a member should thus violate his oath, and they tried to prevent publication. Their first endeavor seems to have been to cause his arrest on trivial charges, fully aware that a lawsuit would be expensive to a man of small means. Morgan was brought from Batavia to Canandaigua, examined before a magistrate and discharged. He was then arrested on another charge, judgment was rendered, and for want of money he was lodged in jail.

The next day men who posed as friends paid his fine, secured his release and hurried him away to Fort Niagara. Soon thereafter he disappeared. The report that he had drowned and that the act had been committed by fellow Masons to prevent disclosure of the secrets of the Society spread rapidly. His book, however, was published and widely circulated. The incident aroused deep feeling. Some of the agents were arrested, tried and convicted. The matter was brought officially before Governor DeWitt Clinton.

On January 26, 1830, John C. Spencer, as "special Counsel on the abduction of William Morgan," presented his report to Enos Throop, acting governor, Clinton having died. This report was published in *Niles' Register* of March 27 of that year. Spencer traced the events from September 19, 1827 when Morgan had disappeared. No valid testimony respecting the disposition of his body had as yet been obtained. Spencer affirmed that those involved, "all of whom belonged to the Masonic Fraternity," had no criminal purpose in removing Morgan to Niagara and secreting him in a magazine there. But the end was his disappearance and the beginning of the Morgan mystery.

This excitement might have spent itself in political activities had not a Mason who claimed to be a member of Phi Beta Kappa also, felt obliged to expose Masonry and Phi Beta Kappa at the same time. His book, "A Ritual of Freemasonry, Illustrated by Numerous Engravings; with Notes and Remarks, to which is added a Key to the Phi Beta Kappa," was published, 1831, by John Marsh and Co. of Boston and entered for copyright by Avery Allyn, who placed after his name, on the title page, "K.R.C., K.T., K.M., &c.," followed by certain cryptic symbols. It would appear that the author's interest in Phi Beta Kappa was secondary, for he gave 290 pages to the characteristics of Masonry and only eight to those of Phi Beta Kappa, one of which contained illustrations of the "sign," the "grip," and "both sides of the medal." The identity of Avery Allyn has never been revealed. He stated that he was a member of Phi Beta Kappa and had taken part in initiations, but his name does not appear in any Phi Beta Kappa catalogue or in the catalogue of any

college with a chapter of the Society. Avery Allyn's statements are interesting:

"I have for a long time been convinced of the worse than useless character of this secret institution; and have waited, with no small degree of solicitude, for a suitable opportunity to declare all that I knew about it to the world. By doing this, I hope not to wound the feelings, or provoke the resentment of any of the respected brethren of that Fraternity.

"In this day of laudable excitement and anxious investigation into the nature and principles of secret societies, it is my humble opinion, there ought to be no concealment; and that the public good imperiously demands a fair and full disclosure of the nature and principles of all secret societies, and that what is said and done under the cover of darkness, should be openly proclaimed on the house top. If there be any good in them, it is but reasonable and just that the whole community should share in the benefit; and if there be any evil in them, surely the public ought to know it, that they may be on their guard, and counteract their deleterious effects. The holy religion which I believe and profess has no secrets, and requires none; but rather condemns the hidden works of darkness and demands their exposure.

"But the reasons I give, which particularly induce me to make these disclosures, are principally two: one is the secret nature of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, and the other is its infidel motto. . . . That the Phi Beta Kappa Society is a *secret* association, is well known to the public. It is a species of Freemasonry, and bears a strong affinity to it; and for aught I know, may be a younger branch of the same tenebrous family. If the opinion of Mr. Knapp, in his late defence of Freemasonry, be correct, it is a branch of the *Illuminati,* that spurious offspring of the celebrated Weishaupt, which has corrupted the whole Masonic Fraternity. Of this, however, it is presumed the greater part of its members have no suspicion. I had none, at the time of my Initiation, and I could heartily wish I had no more reason for it now. Like Freemasonry, the Phi Beta Kappa Society has its secret *obligation, sign, grip, word,* and *jewel,* by which its members are enabled to recognise each other, in any company, and in any part of the world; and though it has no bloody code, as I know of, with savage penalties, and consequently none of those crimes which blacken the Institution of Freemasonry; yet, as a *secret* society it is as susceptible of being perverted to unholy and dangerous purposes.

"It was imported into this Country from France, in the year 1776; and, as it is said, by Thomas Jefferson, late President of the United States. It was first established at William and Mary's College, in Virginia. Upon the decline, and I believe, the extinction of that College, during the

Revolutionary War, a charter, technically called an *Alpha*, was obtained by the students of Yale College, where it still flourishes. From thence it was imparted to Harvard and Dartmouth; and since that time, charters have been granted to the students of Union College, in N. Y., and to Bowdoin, in Maine; and very recently, I understand, to Brown University, in Providence, R. I. I know of no other Colleges in the United States, where the Institution at present exists. . . .

"At the same time, I can perceive no necessity for secrecy, unless it be to cast around them a shade of mystery, to make people wonder and stare. It naturally excites the expectation of some valuable secrets to be obtained, which uniformly end in disappointment. All the literary and honorable advantages it affords, might as well be obtained without secrecy as with, and the danger thence resulting, be avoided; and I cannot but wonder why the authorities of our colleges allow of their existence. Perhaps they have not yet felt the evils to which they may give rise; and when they do, it may be too late to prevent them. When the venerable Hancock and Adams, in view of a Phibetian procession, expressed to the President of Harvard their decided opposition to all secret societies whatever, he must have blushed, even if he refused to take warning.

"The way and manner in which this secret institution is perpetuated at our Colleges, (and I know of no other places where they exist and meet as societies,) is this. Towards the close, or during the last term of the college year, the members of the Senior Class, who belong to the Society, make a selection from the Junior Class of *one third* of its numbers; and their aim is, however much and frequently they may be mistaken, to take those who are reputedly the best scholars, and the most prominent members of the class. They are privately informed of their election; and at an appointed time, are initiated into the Society; not indeed naked, and barefoot, hoodwinked, and cable-towed, but in a more gentlemanly manner, where a promise or oath of secrecy is first exacted of them. . . . The presiding officer then gives a brief historical sketch of the Institution to the initiated, together with the sign, grip, and word, and an explanation of the jewel, or medal, either of silver or gold, which every initiate is required to procure for himself. This medal is sometimes worn in the bosom, suspended by blue and pink ribbons around the neck; but most commonly on a watch chain, in the form of a key. The sign is given by placing the two forefingers of the right hand so as to cover the left corner of the mouth; draw them across the chin. The grip is like the common shaking of hands only not interlocking the thumbs, and at the same time, gently pressing the wrist. The medal is then explained and the meaning of the grand Greek capitals communicated to

the wondering expectants. This concludes the ceremony of initiation into the Society."

Respecting the "infidelity of the motto upon the medal, which contains the grand secret, and gives name to the order," Allyn wrote: "The Φ B K which stand prominent on the medal, are the initials of three Greek words, which, when put together, and translated into English, form a sentence, which contains the essence and sum of all infidelity."

The author stated that when he became a member of the Society the glamour of the name and the words of the motto held him, but said that, "upon mature reflection, I found in them the radical principle of all infidelity; and I believe many others have discovered the same. But I ought not to keep my readers any longer in suspense. Attend, then, my friend, and learn the mighty secret of the Order, which has been so long hid from the world. I have said, that these letters are the initials of three Greek words, which are these, Φιλοσοφία Βίου Κυβερνήτης—in plain English, *Philosophy is the governess, rule or guide of life.* Yes, reader, *Philosophy is the rule or guide of life*! I had been taught from a child, and still believe, that the Bible is the rule or guide of life. But here a vain, imported and infidel philosophy, is exalted into the place of divine revelation, and that Holy Book, which contains the words of eternal life is superseded and set aside. This is just what Hume, Voltaire, Tom Paine, and the whole host of subordinate infidels would have. Philosophy, philosophy, has been the watchword of infidels in every age; and, by its learned and enchanting sound, many unwary youth, it is feared, have been led to reject the only sure guide to Heaven. Am I wrong in the interpretation of this motto? I appeal with confidence to the initiated themselves, and to the whole learned world, to show where is any mistake."

Allyn then explained that the date on the medal, December 5, 1776, was the "precise time when the arch infidel Voltaire, with his associates in wickedness, were poisoning the public mind with their infidel philosophy, . . . And this is also the time when the half-demon Weishaupt was plotting in his dark recesses, the overthrow of every religion and government, throughout the world. . . . And if it be a fact, which, I think, cannot well be denied, that this Institution was imported from France, and planted in this Country by Thomas Jefferson, late President of the United States, its infidel character receives still further confirmation . . . The great men now mentioned, were all philosophers, high in rank, and honor, among the multitude of their brethren; which can leave not the shadow of a doubt, respecting the nature of that philosophy, which is declared to be the 'guide of life.' . . . The stars above the mysterious letters, show the number of the American Colleges, where

the Institution now exists, and the hand at the bottom directs our attention to them."

The author admitted that he had no direct evidence that the Phi Beta Kappa Society had any connection either with Freemasonry or with Illuminism. He believed that making the facts known would have no evil consequences. He was not aware "that the infidel character of the institution has ever infected the minds, or perverted the principles of any individual Brother; but that it never will do so, is more than can be foreseen." He avowed that his purpose was not to injure, much less to destroy the institution, but to purify it, and if possible, make it more honorable and useful. If the leaders could be persuaded to abandon their obligations and secrecies and assume an American name, they would effectually remove all ground for public suspicion, and at the same time lose nothing of "the literary and honorable advantages they have so long enjoyed. I feel as if I had discharged a duty I owed God and my Country, and fearlessly submit the whole to the candor of this enlightened community, and the disposal of Providence."

Though plausibly written, it seems today to show lack of a sense of humor that Allyn's three contentions may be denied categorically. Phi Beta Kappa was not of "foreign manufacture," it was not brought from Europe by Thomas Jefferson, and it did not proclaim an infidel motto. A large proportion of its members were clergymen, many more were associated with Christian enterprises, and if Thomas Jefferson had been a member many would have considered it an honor. One question remained. Was secrecy a detriment to Phi Beta Kappa? Might it be dispensed with without real loss?

The publication of Avery Allyn's book excited interest at Harvard. Edward Everett, president of the Alpha since 1826, was convinced that something should be done before the anniversary on September 1, and wrote to Joseph Story, then a Justice of the United States Supreme Court:

"I wish to call a meeting of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, about a fortnight hence, to consider the expediency of some change in the constitution. Several friends, with whom I have conversed, think it expedient wholly to drop the affectation of secrecy and all its incidents. A change of the present name would naturally, but not necessarily, follow. One gentleman thinks the Society useless, and that it would be best to abolish it altogether; and I should be of this opinion, unless such a liberal change can be made in the terms of admission and membership as to make it a comprehensive Fraternity of the children and friends of the College: on any other footing it can do the College little or no good."

President Everett called a special meeting for July 21, in the Hall of

the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in Boston. After stating the object of the meeting, "The President then read the Charter, the Constitution, and Laws, as originally enacted, and the Form of Initiation, as prescribed on the initiation of members. He submitted a letter from William Short, Esq., an original member, and the second President of the Institution, as established at William and Mary College in Virginia. Also an extract from a work, entitled 'A Ritual of Freemasonry,' by Avery Allyn, purporting to contain a disclosure of the secrets of the Society."

A resolution offered by John Quincy Adams, then a member of the United States House of Representatives, proposed: "That in the admission of all future members of the Society, no oath shall be administered, and no secret be disclosed to or imposed upon or required of the member admitted."

After much discussion this was voted down, and Judge Story moved: "That a committee be appointed to take into consideration the present Charter and organization of this Society, and to report to the Society such changes and alterations in the Charter and organization, as they may deem useful or expedient, for the better promotion of the objects of the Society."

The resolution was adopted and nine members were appointed: Joseph Story, John Quincy Adams, Henry Holton Fuller, Charles Lowell, Alexander Hill Everett, Charles Greely Loring, Loammi Baldwin, James Trecothick Austin, and Charles Jackson.

Further information comes from the diary of John Quincy Adams, who attended meetings of the committee, the adjourned meeting of the chapter on August 11, and the anniversary meeting on September 1. The committee met first in Boston on July 25, at 10 o'clock, all members being present, and continued in session, with a brief intermission for lunch, until near evening. Mr. Adams's motion was adopted, and the question might have been considered settled, had not President Everett insisted on revising the Alpha's constitution to provide that election to membership be by a two-thirds vote. To this Adams offered strenuous opposition, stating in his diary:

"I think it will change entirely the character of the Society and make it less select; for one improper exclusion which it will prevent, it will secure the admittance of ten pale-colored candidates of little or no value to literature, or to the reputation of the Society."

At a second meeting held in Boston two weeks later, Judge Story presented a draft of amendments, and led in the proposal for a general revision of the constitution. Of him Adams wrote: "He had now two volumes of the records of the Society which had not been produced at

the meeting of the Society or at the former meeting of the Committee. By these it appears that in 1806 the oath had been abolished and the solemn promise of secrecy substituted in its place, and that the promise of assisting a brother with life and fortune had been discarded and that in 1825 an entire new system of laws had been adopted, compiled by Edward Everett.

"The report of Judge Story confirmed the whole of this code with two or three exceptions, and I objected that although I was not aware of any change which I should wish to be made in the existing laws, yet I was unprepared to report a confirmation of what I had not read, and exceptions for which I did not see the necessity. Every vote, however, was carried against me. . . . The report proposes to discard the medal and the ribbons . . . When the article for changing the mode of election was apparently about to pass, I moved as an amendment to it that everything having reference to *friendship* as being one of the objects of the Institution shall be expurged, leaving it a mere literary society. . . . The report however was adopted and it is to be made to the Society at their adjourned meeting next Thursday."

The second special meeting of the Society, on August 11, was "to take into consideration the present Charter and organization of the Society, and to report to the Society such changes and alterations in the Charter and organization as they may deem useful and expedient for the better promotion of the objects of the Society."

Judge Story reported: "That having considered the subject with due attention, they [the Committee] have concluded to report a draft of a new Constitution for the Society, embracing in substance the present organization thereof, with the exception of that part which requires a unanimous vote for the admission of members and also an injunction of secrecy."

The Society adjourned to meet in the Athenaeum Lecture Room at 4 o'clock that day, at which meeting an amendment that members might be elected by a two-thirds vote was finally accepted, and Adams's proposal was adopted in these words:

"No oath or form of secrecy shall be required of any member of the Society, and all injunction of secrecy heretofore imposed by this branch of the Phi Beta Kappa Society shall be removed."

In this form the constitution was reported to the annual meeting on September 1, and most of its provisions were adopted. The amendment regarding elections was, however, repealed, "restoring the previous law which required a unanimous vote." The Alpha at Harvard had a new constitution, adopted without reference to the other Alphas. This

constitution met Avery Allyn's charge of favoring an infidel philosophy thus: "The object of the Society is the promotion of Literature and friendly intercourse among Scholars. Its name is Phi Beta Kappa; its motto is intended to indicate that Philosophy, including therein Religion as well as Ethics, is worthy of cultivation as the guide of life."

So far as Harvard was concerned, the charges by Avery Allyn had been met. In the second edition of Allyn's book, September 1, 1831, the chapter on Phi Beta Kappa begins: "The members of this Institution have recently removed the injunction of secrecy imposed by its obligations, and have left the world to form a just notion of its moral and social principles. This event has doubtless been hastened by the revelation of its mysteries published in the first edition of this Ritual. This act of the Phibetian Society shows the good sense of its members; and also that its purposes were not political. Had politics, as in Masonry, been its main object, it would have held on with tenacity to its principles, as to the threads of life, and disregarding its departure from sound morals, or patriotism, would still have contended with the infatuation of a Mormonite, for the enjoyment, in secret, of that which in the eye of the public would overwhelm its members in confusion."

In the introduction to this edition, Allyn wrote of his endeavor through lectures before crowded audiences in New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and in Philadelphia to demonstrate the evils of secret societies, and stated that:

". . . untiring vengeance pursued his steps in all places. He was insulted, mobbed, sued, imprisoned, abused and libelled! The house in which he lectured was more than once torn down; and often the windows and doors were broken and battered with stones and other missiles, while he sought, in vain, the protection of that law which he had not violated! But in all this, he moved forward, undaunted, in the path of duty; and he continues to operate in every way in which he can most effectually subserve the cause. With a modest deportment, an unstained honor, a veracity unquestioned, a resolution unshaken, a reputation unblemished, he continues to press against the common enemy. Firm, in the midst of dangers, and frank in the midst of treachery, he presents his publications to the patronage of the anti-Masonic public, claiming that support through this medium, of spreading light into the dark mysteries of Masonry, which, at this crisis of our affairs, could not be expected from his lectures."

What happened to Avery Allyn we do not know. He has passed so far out of the knowledge of his fellows that his identity has not yet been discovered. His disclosure of the Society secrets seems to have caused

little concern to the other Alphas. At Yale the question was raised by Edward Everett, who went to New Haven for the public anniversary announced for September 13, attended the business meeting which preceded it, and insisted that the question be considered. The subject had also been brought to the attention of the Alphas of Maine and Rhode Island. The Alpha of Rhode Island repealed the pledge to secrecy in September, 1832, but at the same time it introduced a clause forbidding disclosure of any discussion regarding candidates for membership, like the one adopted on the motion of John Quincy Adams at Harvard.

The Yale anniversary of 1831 was a notable occasion, for James Kent, Chancellor of the State of New York, was to be the orator on the fiftieth anniversary of his graduation and this was the semi-centennial of the Phi Beta Kappa in New England. The orator reviewed the life of the College and the beginnings of the Society. He opened his address with a reference to the Alpha's organization during his junior year, and informed his hearers that some of his class had been original members. Near the close he said:

"There is much pleasure in recalling to view the living picture of the sports and joys of youth, in its original freshness of coloring and intensity of action. There is a still higher delight in recounting the manly pursuits, the generous emulation, the exciting discoveries and the ingenuous attachments which gave life and vigor to the collegiate circle. But in my case, the vision is shaded and the charm dissolved, by the intrusion of one stern reality. The generation which I knew at college has passed away and given place to another. Star after star has fallen from its sphere. A few bright lights are still visible, but the constellation itself has become dim, and almost ceases to shed its radiance around me. What severe lessons of mortality, such a retrospect teaches! What a startling rebuke to human pride! How brief the drama! How insignificant the honors, and 'fiery chase of ambition,' except as mental discipline for beings destined for immortality!"

Whether Edward Everett went to Yale because James Kent was orator, or to inform the members of Phi Beta Kappa of the action taken at Harvard is not known. At any rate he told the brethren at Yale of the action at Harvard and invited them to take similar action. Fortunately we have Kent's diary:

"At 11 A.M. I attended the meeting of the Ph. B. K. in the 3d story of the old Chapel. . . . There I saw Ed. Everett and a crowd of civilians and clergy and professors. The question was on abolishing the secrets of the Society. Professor Silliman, Doctor Ives, Rev. M. Robbins, the Rev. Mr. Bacon of the 1st Presbyterian Congregation and Judge Daggett spoke. The rule of secrecy was abolished with acclamation."

Many years later Charles Tracy of the class of 1832 gave his recollections:

"In those days Freemasonry and anti-masonry fought out their battles; and a grave question of conscience arose about the promise of secrecy exacted on initiation into Phi Beta Kappa. Harvard was for resolving the secrecy and sent Edward Everett to the private meeting at Yale to advocate the cause. He used a tender tone, stood half-drooping as he spoke, and touchingly set forth that the students at Harvard had such conscientious scruples as to keep them from taking the vow of secrecy, and the Society life was thus endangered. There was stout opposition, but the motion prevailed, and the missionary returned to gladden the tender consciences of Harvard boys. The secret of course was out. The world did not stare at the discovery; and when a few years had passed the Society took back its secrecy and revived its grip."

Since the motion respecting secrecy was not self-enforcing, at the annual meeting on December 1, the treasurer, Doctor C. Hooker, and A. N. Skinner, Esq., were appointed to "examine the Constitution of the Society in regard to its bearing upon the abolishing the secrets of the Society."

Within two years after the rule was adopted, "on motion of Prof. Olmsted a committee was appointed to investigate the propriety of re-establishing the injunction of Secrecy."

The committee, while "not regretting the disclosure of the Society so far as respects its Constitution and Laws, and its general object [since] this is all the public has a right to expect," affirmed "that it is expedient to review the promise of secrecy so far as respects the exercises of the Society and its business transactions . . . because it tends to inspire confidence in those who are culturing the art of extempore speaking and because it is essential to the respectability of the Society in the view of the other members of the College."

The committee believed the business transactions, especially as they related to the election of members, should be held secret. Especially those who are rejected "ought never to know the manner in which their claims have been discussed, [lest] . . . feelings or resentment . . . spring up in their breasts against those by whose agency they have been excluded." The committee therefore recommended that in place of the promise of secrecy formerly required, the following promise be administered:

"You, and each of you, on becoming a member of ΦBK solemnly engage that you will keep secret from all persons not members of this Society, so much of its concerns as relates to its exercises and its business transactions."

The Decline of Literary Exercises

Literary exercises of student members at Harvard came to an end in 1832 when interest in anniversary meetings was strong. They were continued for nearly twenty-five years at Yale and Dartmouth, but finally ceased through different influences.

A crisis in the treasury of the Alpha at Yale in 1841 was followed by a lessening interest in the exercises. On February 28, 1842, "a fire which broke out in the City seemed to possess more attraction than the Society," and in the following month no meeting was called because of the annual meeting of the Yale College Bible Society.

During the succeeding academic year subjects were discussed, among them: "Ought a National University to be established?" which was decided in the affirmative; and "Are the intellectual capacities of Females equal to those of Males?" decided in the negative. At the annual meeting on December 1, all the appointees failed except Mr. Munson, who read "an interesting dissertation on American Colleges, showing their inadequacy to give thorough and finished education, and advocating the establishment of a National University."

From this time the attendance was less regular, in spite of frequent protestations of the value of the Society, and the need of continuing its activities. On July 21, 1842, only thirteen were present. Near the beginning of the next academic year, "The members present, as a committee of the whole, took into consideration 'the state of the Union!' But one sentiment pervaded the whole body, and that in the high intent and noble purpose of sustaining the interest in the meetings of this Alpha of venerable age and reputation. Being emphatically *the* Society at *Yale* everyone as a recipient of its honors frankly acknowledged his obligation and pleasure to repay as in his power."

A month later the secretary in facetious vein wrote of the report of "the committee appointed to take into consideration the condition of this venerable Institution." Not prepared to make a formal report, they admitted "that they had examined the patient and found . . . that he was sick, and begged for a fortnight to feel his pulse and apply drafts, which was granted."

Two weeks later the secretary, Edwin Wright, reported hilariously a meeting called to receive a report on "the state of the Society." The chairman "painted in most glowing terms the great advantages which 'our forefathers' supposed might come from it and which were really in it. He spoke of the criminal neglect which this verdant Alpha had received at the hands of her sons, the ingratitude with which she was and had been treated by the recipients of her blessings, . . . and concluded

with the resolution to discontinue the regular meetings of the Society."

This proposal "elicited such a debate as was never recorded in the annals of man." The remarks of "Brother Chapin and Brother Angier" were stated at some length. The latter . . . "rose in all his dignity, laid aside his cloak of broadcloth, folded his arms resignedly upon his breast and remarked: 'Mr. Chairman, is there any one in this house that can lay his hand upon his heart, and say that he wishes the ΦBK dissolved and annihilated? . . . Sir, last fall at Cambridge Commencement I would not have taken a world for my election to this brotherhood of distinguished men. Why, sir, I had the infinite delight and gratification of dining with such other great men as Pres. Quincy and John Quincy Adams who said, they looked back with delight to the time they signed the Constitution, and so do I sir, yes, so do I. And I shall never vote to annihilate this my Society!' "

At the next anniversary Professor Theodore Woolsey was chosen president and a new committee was appointed to suggest means for establishing its regular meetings on a better and more fruitful basis. At a succeeding meeting President Woolsey "favored the Society with an eloquent and interesting account of the origin of the Society, its progress through the various political excitements, especially the American and French Revolutions, and the Masonic excitement, and the origin and signification of its symbols."

Of a later meeting the secretary wrote in enthusiastic sentences:

"The College Bell never rang a merrier peal than that which called together the young and ardent children of Phi Beta Kappa. It would be unjust to leave unnoticed the able and eloquent efforts of Messrs. Bibbin, Grant, Kennedy and Murray. By their sparkling effusions was kindled a flame in the breasts of the brethren which was evinced by a succession of the most brilliant sallies of wit and bursts of eloquence . . . Such was the enthusiasm of this our first meeting that the Chairman left his seat right glad to be released from the awful responsibility of preserving order."

Elections and initiations were continued, but interest in regular meetings did not persist. Of the initiations in 1844 the secretary wrote: "The candidates were introduced to the darkness and made to go through the interesting formula of initiation. The *grasp* was particularly ardent and fraternal. Then came a treat in the shape of an immense quantity of *peanuts*, the regular and only pabulum of the glorious Phi Beta. After this (the peanuts having disappeared) a motion to adjourn was suddenly and unanimously carried."

Not until August 10, 1846, was the committee ready to report. They advised that two objects were to be kept in view: the improvement of

the members of the Society, and the influence of the Society upon the college at large by creating honorary distinctions among the students. Therefore to attain the former "the cooperation of the graduate members resident in the City in the literary exercises of the Society is eminently desirable."

To accomplish this end "a change should be made in the time and mode of electing members so that . . . not more than one fourth of the class shall be elected at first but earlier than at present, and the remainder at a period sufficiently remote to furnish the ground of further distinction and merit." The report was accepted and amendments to constitution and by-laws were authorized. Thus after three years of agitation, separate undergraduate literary activities ceased and meetings with members from the faculty and the community began.

Of the first meeting the secretary wrote: "A large number of the Graduate members wended their way at the calling of the bell to the Rhetorical Chamber, the time honored Hall of the ΦBK. Recollections, doubtless of the days of 'auld Lang syne' when in that very room they had plighted their honor and affections to the Society and where they had joined in the mimic strife and mock foray, which but paved the way to future usefulness and action, were ripe in every mind. Revolving years had brought to some a silvered crown, thick set with gems of honor; to all they had brought cares, sorrows, and responsibilities; but to none had they brought forgetfulness of College life, or of this the favorite daughter of our Alma Mater. The hearts of the younger brethren were cheered by seeing many there, who had long since left these walls, to mingle in the real strife and conflict of the world, whose abandonment of pressing cares, or wooing ease, to spend the evening with us showed plainly how strong is their affection for our Fraternity.

"At the hour appointed the President assumed the chair and the meeting was then opened by the reading of the records. After these had been accepted, the discussion of the question: Does mere occupancy give a right to territory? was commenced."

Of the activities of succeeding years at Yale little is known, because the book of records has disappeared. The new method evidently continued in force until 1871, when the Alpha suspended its meetings and elections.

The decision to cease literary activities was reached at Dartmouth a year earlier. The leaders there evidently knew that these activities had ceased at Harvard, that they had declined at Union, and that at Bowdoin and Brown they had not even been proposed. They determined to make the transition to an honor society status without long discussion. At the anniversary meeting of 1845 a committee of five recommended "that the

election be made from the Senior Class instead of the Junior, on the day preceding Commencement, and that . . . no election of undergraduates be made from the next Junior Class until 1847."

This report was adopted without opposition. Evidently student members had not been consulted, for they held sixteen regular meetings during the next academic year. In the spring they proposed to continue on the ground that the action of the Society was not final on the subject of elections. For a time the students were strong for action. It was decided to proceed with the election but, fearing a conflict, it was voted to postpone elections indefinitely. Thereafter, seniors did not have a deciding vote on the election of student members.

At the anniversary meeting of 1846 the previous decision was confirmed by another resolution which provided for elections on the Wednesday preceding commencement. Faculty members in reality assumed responsibility, being guided by the merit roll for the full college course. Announcements were to be made on the day before commencement, initiations to follow at the anniversary meetings. This method was less satisfactory than that at Yale, for there seniors had some responsibility for the election of juniors, and were privileged to participate in literary meetings along with graduate members from the Society and the faculty. By these changes at both Yale and Dartmouth Phi Beta Kappa was given the honor society status which it has since maintained.

Two Applications Denied

Little interest seems to have been aroused by the introduction of Alphas at Bowdoin and Brown. Six years later two applications came at nearly the same time, one in December 1836 from the recently organized University of New York, and the other seven months later from Hampden-Sydney College in Virginia. Though strongly supported both failed of favorable action. The application from Virginia will be considered first, since the one from New York raised important questions of policy.

The application from Hampden-Sydney, dated July 9, 1837, was addressed "To the Alpha of Phi Beta Kappa Society of the State of Connecticut." It stated that the Society had then not a single branch in the southern states. Hampden-Sydney, "of more than fifty years standing," had a wide reputation because "very distinguished men have been numbered among its Presidents and Officers." Among its alumni were "not a few whose influence, both in Church and State, has been and is felt through the length and breadth of our Land. . . . The standard of scholarship has always been high, the applicants have confidence in the future and believe that the establishment of an Alpha . . . at Hampden-

Sydney College in the State of Virginia . . . would greatly subserve the interests of literature in the Southern Country, and especially in this State." Among the applicants was William Maxwell, Yale 1802, United States Senator for Virginia, who became President of the College the next year.

At Union it was voted to direct the corresponding secretary "to obtain such information as might be necessary to direct the future action of the Society on the subject." At Harvard an unfavorable report was presented by Professor Henry W. Longfellow, and the application was "ordered to be put on file . . . on the ground that the Alpha of the State should be established in the chief literary institution of the State." At Dartmouth it was decided that it was inexpedient to grant a charter for a branch at Hampden-Sydney College. At Brown the two applications were dealt with in one report, which advised the Alpha not to take further action on the petitions. At Bowdoin a like decision was reached in 1840. At Yale a committee reported "that Hampden-Sydney is a very respectable College and has been of great service to the Community in which it is situated; that it has an excellent Board of Trustees and an able Faculty; and that it has established a good course of instruction. Owing, however, to want of funds and other untoward circumstances, its prosperity has been impeded and its number considerably reduced, its average number being only about forty." It was therefore decided "to postpone any decisive action on the petition until the prospects of the Institution afford sure grounds to hope for its permanent usefulness and prosperity."

In 1836 when the University of the City of New York applied for a charter, it was only four years old. Leadership in preparing the application was taken by Robert Bridges Patton, Yale 1817, who, after serving as professor of Latin and Greek at Princeton, had accepted the chair of Greek language and literature in the new university.

With only one Phi Beta Kappa colleague on the faculty, Patton sought associates in the city. Sixteen who signed were members at Yale and eight at Union. A copy of the application, dated December 6, 1836, is preserved at Yale.

"We, the subscribers, appointed a Committee, by the students of the University of the City of New York, to make application for a branch of the Society, in the Said University, RESPECTFULLY PRESENT: that, in our opinion, the time has arrived when the literary character, and the increasing influence of the University, encourage us to believe, that the establishment of a branch of the venerable Society, *here*, would materially advance the interests of Literature and Science, and would

contribute, also, not a little, to sustain the high character of the Society itself.

"We therefore, most respectfully REQUEST, that permission be granted to establish, as soon as possible, a branch of the Society in the Said University."

The application was considered at a meeting at Yale on July 3, 1837. Following the initiation, the petition was read by the corresponding secretary. The minutes conclude:

"Remarks were made by several gentlemen on the power of this meeting to grant the petition; and the expediency of granting it at the present time. . . . The following Resolution was carried by a small majority:

"Resolved—that the prayer of the petitioners be granted; and that Mr. Robert B. Patton be a committee to carry the same into effect."

In this favorable attitude Yale stood alone, as unfavorable action had been taken at Dartmouth and Brown. There is no record of action at Harvard or Union.

At Yale Professor Gibbs raised the question which needed answering: whether the proposed Society for New York University would be called Alpha or Beta. Few members in the North knew the provision in the charters granted in Virginia for junior branches to bear the names of Greek letters in their order. The secretary of the Union Alpha presented communications from Dartmouth and Brown "inquiring whether it was the custom for one Alpha to grant Charters to new Branches." The Alpha of New York was interested and correspondence was continued. At the annual meeting at Yale a letter from Union was read "requesting information as to what are to be understood in this Branch to be the usages of the Φ B K Society in respect to the formation of new Alphas."

The Alpha of Connecticut was ready with an answer, for a committee had studied the charter and the history of early years at Yale, and possibly had a copy of William Short's letter written in 1831 to Edward Everett of the Alpha of Massachusetts. Elisha Parmele's agency in bearing charters from Virginia was recounted. The preamble of the charter was quoted, and also the restricted authority to grant charters within the State for junior branches, which were spoken of as dependent upon the Alpha and hence "inferior." The report stated:

"The founders of the Φ B K did not therefore contemplate such emergencies as have since arisen, when sister Institutions of equal rank with ourselves make application for a charter . . . hence . . . we are not to depend on any powers originally conferred by the charter from William and Mary, since that conferred no power whatever in relation to the establishing Branches out of the State."

Since "the Alphas of Massachusetts and Connecticut were recognized as equal in rank with the original Alpha," this principle should hold. And since "it has been the practice of the order of Alphas in admitting new States into the Confederacy to expect and require unanimous concurrence of all the existing Alphas," any new branch should "take its rank as an equal among equals."

Though some had "supposed that the sole and exclusive right of establishing a Beta . . . is vested in the Alpha" of that State, the committees found nothing "in the Constitution and charter . . . which forbids Columbia College from making application for a charter to the same sources as those to which Union College applied." However, "it would be a mark of courtesy first to apply to the nearest neighbor," such neighbor being regarded as only "one of a Fraternity, whose united consent is to be sought and obtained before the applicant can be admitted a member of the confederacy; but when once admitted, both the Alpha and the Beta" should be "on footing of entire equality."

It was therefore concluded that "to give such prerogative to a branch existing at one college over a branch existing at another college in the same State . . . would evidently be unfavorable to that spirit of concord which it was no inconsiderable object in the original founders to establish in the Commonwealth of Letters."

The recommendation of the committee was thus adopted: "Resolved, that in the opinion of the Connecticut Alpha of the ΦBK, charters are to be granted to all new applicants, on the same uniform and impartial principles, whether the said applicants be the first from any State or not, the discussion to rest solely on the grounds of literary eminence, and the united consent of all the existing Alphas to be obtained."

The principle for which the committee contended—that succeeding branches in any State should not be considered inferior—became a fixed policy with the Society. Voting on applications, however, was not accorded them. That was the privilege of the Alphas, and although the Alpha at Yale relinquished the right of full judgment when applications should come from its own State, it was the first to act alone upon such an application. Within ten years the rule was broken, and the privilege granted to the Alphas of Connecticut and Massachusetts in their charter was in effect extended to other Alphas, although that power had not been given them in their own charters.

By the close of this period of inner development several branches of Phi Beta Kappa, led by that at Harvard, had abandoned secrecy. Undergraduate literary exercises had nearly ceased, so that the Society had become an honor society in fact; but anniversary programs continued to

be maintained with accruing distinction to the Society and valuable public influence. In spite of the restriction of the Society to six Northern institutions, its general reputation was high, election to membership was greatly esteemed, and the desire to obtain charters was increasing. Finally, the exploration of the authority to establish new branches, with the decisions at Yale just described, prepared the way for the period of rapid expansion which was to follow. In approving institutions for charters the Alpha of Massachusetts proved most conservative, the Alpha of New York—instituting eight branches within a quarter of a century—most liberal.

Attention now turns to this period of expansion, which leads to the movement for the union of the chapters.

CHAPTER VI

Decades of Rapid Expansion: 1845-1876

The Beta and Gamma of Connecticut at Trinity and Wesleyan

YALE COLLEGE had dominated the educational life of Connecticut for more than a century before a rival entered the field. In 1823, Washington College, promoted by the Protestant Episcopal Church, was chartered and located in Hartford; and nine years later Wesleyan University, under Methodist Episcopal auspices, began at Middletown. At its annual meeting August 17, 1843, the Society at Yale considered a petition "received from Washington College praying to become a Beta of the Phi Beta Kappa that they might see and taste its glorious fruits under the shadow of their own vine and fig tree; whereupon the general finding being that the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge was made, not for the woman alone, but also for the man, Prof. Denison Olmsted, Rev. Dr. Murdock and Prof. Benjamin Silliman were appointed a committee to consider the prayer of the petitioners and to report either in December or August next following."

A year later the petition in behalf of Washington College was adopted. Before the meeting adjourned the members were surprised by the presentation of a "petition from Wesleyan University praying for the institution of a Branch in Middletown. Mr. Russell, Prof. Salisbury and Dr. Murdock appointed a committee to report on said petition."

Copies of this petition were sent to all the Alphas. The applicants in behalf of Washington College had appealed only to the Society at Yale. Neither of these petitions is found at Yale, but a copy of the latter, in the archives at Brown, reads:

"The undersigned members of the Society, residing in Middletown, Conn. beg leave to represent:

"That in their judgment the cause of Science and Literature would be promoted by extending the benefits of the Institution to the Wesleyan University.

"They therefore pray that a Branch Society may be established in said University with the usual powers, privileges and immunities."

To receive the report of the committee a meeting was held in the council chamber of Yale College, February 24, 1845. The members were

convinced that the charter of the Alpha of Connecticut gave it power to act on this second application as it had on the first, and stated:

"That, having maturely considered the subject, they are satisfied that the said University now holds such a rank among the Literary Institutions of the Country, and has such prospects of permanent usefulness and respectability, that a Branch of the Society may suitably be planted there. Your Committee would therefore recommend the passage of the following Resolution: viz.

"Voted, that it is expedient that a Branch of the Society of ΦBK to be called the *Gamma of Connecticut,* be established in the Wesleyan University at Middletown in the State of Connecticut, and that any one or more persons, being regular members of said Society, shall have authority to establish a Branch of said Society in said University, with all the rights and privileges enjoyed by other Branches of the same, which we as an individual Branch are authorized to grant, provided it adopt a Constitution similar to the Constitutions established by other Branches.

"Voted, that we hereby constitute a Fraternity of the Phi Beta Kappa at the Wesleyan University under the name of the Connecticut Gamma of the Phi Beta Kappa Society with all the rights, powers and privileges of other Branches of the Society." The resolution was passed.

Meanwhile the other Alphas were considering the application from Middletown, unaware that for all practical purposes a decision had been reached. At Dartmouth the "request . . . was laid upon the table until we should know something more of the conditions of the College, and also of the propriety of establishing *two* Branches of the Society in *one* State." At Union, on the report of a committee, it was, on July 23, 1844, voted, "to grant that prayer." At Harvard the petition was referred to Henry W. Longfellow, Professor C. C. Felton and F. Bowen, but the action at Yale made a recommendation unnecessary. In August the corresponding secretary at Brown wrote to Yale to inquire if "a similar application has been made to your Alpha, and if so what action has been taken upon it." An early reply made it evident that no action at Brown was necessary.

On June 16, within four months after the favorable vote on Wesleyan, charters for Trinity College, the new name for Washington, and Wesleyan University were prepared.

Fortunately the charter for Trinity has been preserved. It reads:

"Whereas, by the Charter bearing date December 4th, 1779, issued by the Society of the ΦBK of William & Mary College in the State of Virginia, constituting and establishing the Connecticut Alpha of said Society at Yale College in New Haven, authority was delegated and given

to the said Alpha to grant Charters for the establishment of Branches of the Society in the State of Connecticut.

"And whereas, at a meeting of the Connecticut Alpha of the Φ B K Society, duly warned, and held on the fourteenth day of August, A.D. 1844, a vote was passed establishing a branch of said Society at Washington College in the City of Hartford in said State, by the name and Style of 'The Connecticut Beta of the Phi Beta Kappa Society';—and whereas the denomination and title of Washington College aforesaid, has since that vote been by proper authority, changed to 'Trinity College.'

"Now therefore, in accordance with the vote aforesaid, and to carry the same more fully into effect;—we the undersigned, Officers and Members of the said Connecticut Alpha, in legal meeting assembled, at Yale College, in the City of New Haven, this sixteenth day of June, A.D. 1845, do by these presents unanimously delegate and give to our well and truly beloved brother, John Brocklesby, the right and authority to organize and establish at said, Trinity College, in the City of Hartford, in the State of Connecticut, a Fraternity of the Φ B K, pursuant to the permission set forth in the Articles following; viz:

> Art. I. The said Fraternity shall consist of not less than three persons, of honor, probity, and learning; and shall be denominated "The Connecticut Beta of the Φ B K Society."—and as soon as a number of associates not exceeding three, shall by said Brocklesby be elected, the Fraternity shall hold a meeting for the appointment of proper Officers, and the election of new members.
>
> Art. II. The said Fraternity shall endeavor to further and advance the principles and objects of the Society of the Phi Beta Kappa; and to promote learning, friendship and union among its members; and to maintain and cherish fellowship with us, and with the members of other associate Fraternities.
>
> Art. III. The Form of Initiation of members to be elected into said Fraternity shall be the one heretofore used in this Society.
>
> Art. IV. All By-Laws which may be enacted by the said Fraternity shall be in accordance with the code of By-Laws by which this and other branches of the Society are governed.
>
> Art. V. It is recommended to the said Fraternity that each member thereof provide himself with a medal, similar in size, form, and inscription to the one customarily worn by the members of the Society.

"And we do moreover hereby ratify and confirm this charter, with all the authority, rights, and privileges incident to the same, unto the Branch or Fraternity of the Society of the Φ B K to be established in the pursuance of the provisions hereinbefore set forth, in said Trinity College,

by the said Brocklesby and his associates, to them and their successors in perpetuity and forever.

"In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names at Yale College in the City of New Haven and in the State of Connecticut, on this sixteenth day of June, Anno Domini 1845."

This third charter drafted at Yale is unlike those prepared for Union and Bowdoin. It relies for its authority on one provision of its own charter, grants authority to one member to organize a branch or fraternity of the Φ B K, to be designated, not the Beta of Connecticut, but the Connecticut Beta, provides specifically for the adoption of the form of initiation in use at Yale and of by-laws which shall be "in accordance with the code of By-Laws by which this and other Branches of the Society are governed." And to the members a *medal* was recommended, similar in size, form, and inscription to the one customarily worn by the members of the Society.

From its beginning Washington College at Hartford was directed by Phi Beta Kappa members. Thomas Church Brownell, Bishop of Connecticut, of the Alpha at Union, was its founder and first president. Two members of the first faculty were from the Alpha at Yale, and the third from Dartmouth; all who were added during the first twenty-five years were members—six from Yale, and four from Union. When President Brownell retired, his successor was Nathaniel S. Wheaton, from Yale, who in turn was followed by Silas Totten, from Union. John Brocklesby, of Yale, was chosen correspondent to make application for a charter and thus became the one charter member of the group, sharing this unique honor with Elisha Parmele and Aaron Kinsman.

The minutes of the first meeting on July 2, 1845, read:

"Pursuant to the regulations of the Charter herein contained the Connecticut Beta of the Φ B K was organized at the time and place above specified, and the following Officers chosen:

Rev. Silas Totten, D.D., Pres.
Prof. B. L. Stewart, Vice Pres.
Rev. Abner Jackson, Treas.
Prof. J. Brocklesby, Cor. Secretary."

The following day five graduates of the class of 1843, three of 1844, and four seniors were elected, and a week later eight of the twelve were admitted and initiated. At the end of five weeks the Beta was fully organized. It made no progress for nearly a year, until five juniors were initiated and three were elected honorary members. The constitution and ritual insisted on essential secrecy. The four questions were asked at initiations, the laws were read, and the oath administered.

Members of the Society who resided in college were to "constitute a Local Society," with responsibility for elections, initiations, and for arranging "such literary exercises . . . as the Society shall think fit." Three meetings were to be addressed by members "of the Φ B K Society in the vicinity, either undergraduates or otherwise." The sending of reports and the holding of literary meetings were not long continued, nor did the "General Society" attain early success in providing orators and poets for commencement meetings. Five years passed before an orator was presented, and no poet ever graced an anniversary.

In its elections the Beta at Trinity was conservative. During its first twenty-five years the College awarded two hundred and seventy A.B. degrees, an average of fifteen per year, while the Society elected an average of less than five. During the same period it elected twenty-seven to honorary membership, fourteen of whom were alumni of the College.

After its eighth anniversary, the Beta printed on the concluding pages of a pamphlet containing the oration by Edwin Harwood, a catalogue of its officers and members. Not until 1895, its fiftieth anniversary, was a second catalogue issued. This included a total of 330 members, 298 elected while students, seventeen as alumni, and fifteen to honorary membership.

Of the meeting at Middletown on July 7, the secretary wrote:

"The Connecticut Gamma of the Phi Beta Kappa Society was organized under Article I of the Charter received from the Connecticut Alpha. Present Augustus W. Smith, John Johnston and William E. Hulbert.

"Professor Augustus W. Smith was chosen President and Prof. John Johnston, Secretary.

"Voted to proceed to the election of additional members from the Faculty of the University."

At a series of meetings forty-two alumni were chosen, Professor Lane being among them—one-sixth of the entire graduate body—and five each from the senior and the junior classes. Two honorary members (President Olin seems not to have accepted), a few alumni, and the undergraduates were intitiated before commencement. The form of initiation received from Yale was used.

The charter was not copied in the records, nor has any copy been found of the constitution or ritual then adopted. The president and the vice-president were made a committee to provide suitable blank books for the use of the Society, and also suitable means for the safe keeping of the records, but the secretary's book only has been preserved. The by-laws provided for meetings on the second Wednesday evening of each month "in term time," a program being outlined for the first meeting of each term. Professors, students, and members living in the community were encouraged to take part. For several years meetings were held

with some regularity. In selecting student members it was provided that "the Officers of the College read the standing of the nominees in the several departments before the Society proceeds to ballot for an election." On August 7, 1850, one of the three candidates withdrew because he discovered that the Gamma was a secret society. During its first decade the Gamma did not elect quite one-third of the students, and this conservative attitude continued.

A count of the members during its first forty years shows fifteen elected to honorary membership, one hundred and two from among the alumni, and two hundred and three elected in course. Of this total twelve were women.

The chartering and organization of Phi Beta Kappa at Trinity and Wesleyan were given slight publicity. Nothing has been found in Protestant Episcopal journals concerning the Beta of Connecticut, nor in Methodist journals concerning the Gamma, nothing in newspapers of Hartford and Middletown. Reports of organization seem not to have been sent to the Alphas.

This was the beginning of a period of transition from a conservative attitude to one more friendly to expansion, but the leaders of the older societies took no step to formulate a definite policy, or to encourage applications.

One outcome was the acceptance of a name for the local societies. Alpha was no longer generally applicable. The term "fraternity," as used in the charters for the Beta and Gamma of Connecticut as a substitute or synonym for "branch," was not widely accepted. By common consent the term "chapter," which had come into use among the social fraternities, was adopted. The first use of this word in Phi Beta Kappa procedure appears in the application from students at Amherst. They requested, according to records at Yale, Harvard and Dartmouth, not a charter, but a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa. Thereafter the term was used in general statements, but not at once in catalogues and notices of meetings.

The Alpha of Ohio at Western Reserve

At its sixtieth anniversary, December 2, 1841, the Phi Beta Kappa at Yale had for consideration an application for a charter from Western Reserve College in Ohio.

The Society was about to turn to the West. Educators of the time were familiar with the growth of the Northwest Territory and of its opening educational facilities. Connecticut knew about the Western Reserve, of which ownership had been reserved when in 1786 the State ceded to the United States the remainder of its claims to territory beyond the Alleghenies. From pioneer families many sons had come back to Yale, sturdy in civil, religious and educational activities, promoters of the new country.

Western Reserve College had been fostered largely by Yale graduates. In 1820 a school was opened at Burton by the Erie Literary Society, but a better location was sought for a college. A board of trustees of seven clergymen and seven laymen was formed, and a charter was secured from the legislature in February, 1826. Hudson, whose citizens had subscribed $7,150 and one hundred and sixty acres of land, was selected, and a building, "Middle College," was finished in 1827. The College grew in educational leadership and in the number of its students; new buildings were erected, and the faculty was increased, nearly all of the new members being graduates of Yale or Dartmouth and members of Phi Beta Kappa. Western Reserve became known in the East as the "garden spot of education in the West." Through the western branch of the American Education Society, there located, all applications for aid for Western colleges had to pass.

The application read at Yale on December 2 had the endorsement of the Rev. John P. Cleaveland, Bowdoin 1821, who had visited Hudson while considering a call to the presidency of Marshall College in Michigan. The committee reported at the commencement meeting on August 18, recommending that a chapter be established at Western Reserve. "The Society resolved accordingly, and the same committee was appointed to carry the resolution into effect."

Professor Denison Olmsted was familiar with conditions there, hence there were good reasons for a favorable answer to the request for a charter.

At Union the subject was not presented until July, 1843, when a committee was appointed "to inquire into the state of this College with the authority of an Alpha of Phi Beta Kappa Society, and especially whether it present prospect of permanency."

It is believed that the action was favorable, although no record has been found. A year later a committee of the Alpha of Massachusetts reported "that the assent of this Branch should be given to the establishment of a sister Branch in the Western Reserve College in Ohio, and of another Branch in the University of Vermont, which report, was accepted." The Alpha of New Hampshire was as slow, but finally voted to grant a charter; consent at Bowdoin came a year later, in September 1847.

After six years of waiting, the charter was about to be issued, having been prepared by the committee, the chairman of which, James Murdock, was then at the fiftieth anniversary of his graduation. Born on February 16, 1776, his life had covered the entire period of Phi Beta Kappa's existence. He had signed the charters for Trinity and Wesleyan and was now to help prepare a charter that was to carry the Society into the West. During his remaining nine years he was to publish a "Translation of the

New Testament from the Syrian," and also a "Translation of Mosheim's Commentaries on the Affairs of Christianity before the time of Constantine the Great." Dr. Murdock's colleagues were Professor Thomas A. Thatcher and Professor Olmsted, both active promoters of Phi Beta Kappa's wider interests.

Western Reserve's charter read as follows:

> Whereas the Society of Φ B K, by selecting the best and most promising scholars, of a good moral character, in the principal Colleges, and uniting them in one great Fraternity of Scientific and Literary men, has been found, not only profitable to the members of said Society, but also conducive to the advancement of sound learning in our Country; and whereas the President and Professors of the Western Reserve College, at Hudson, in the State of Ohio, being desirous to secure to that college the great advantage of this Institution, did, on the second day of December, 1841, prefer a petition to the Alpha of Connecticut, that a Branch of this Society might be established in the said Western Reserve College, and thereupon the Alpha of Connecticut, instituted careful inquiry into the character and prospects of that College and, after mature deliberation did, at their general meeting, on the 18th day of August, 1842, assent to the above mentioned request, provided that approbation and consent of the other Alphas should first be obtained; And whereas the Alpha of Connecticut, on learning that such consent and approbation had been obtained from each and all the other Alphas, did, at their general meeting on the day before Commencement at Yale College, A.D. 1847, invest us the undersigned with authority to give and convey to the said petitioners, being members of this Alpha, the requisite power and authority to create and organize a distinct Branch of the Φ B K, in said Western Reserve College, under the name and title of the Alpha of Ohio.
>
> Now, therefore, know all men by these presents, that our trusty and beloved brothers George E. Pierce, S. T. D., President of the Western Reserve College, and his associates, Professors in the said College, Elijah P. Barrows A.M., Henry N. Day A.M., Samuel St. John A.M., Nathan P. Seymour A.M., and James Nooney A.M. or the major part of them, have and possess full powers to create and organize a Branch of the Society of Φ B K, in the Western Reserve College, at Hudson, in the State of Ohio, which Branch of said Society shall be known by the name and style of the Alpha of Ohio, and shall possess and enjoy the power, privileges and perogatives of a sister Alpha of the Φ B K, provided that it be founded upon and faithfully adhere to, the great and fundamental principles of said Society.

And that the said Alpha of Ohio may be the more effectually guarded against any and every departure from the fundamental principles of the ΦBK Society, the following brief statement of those principles is here subjoined:

I. No undergraduates shall be admitted into the Society until they shall have attained the rank of Junior Sophisters, and so long as they remain undergraduates no more than one-third part of any College Class and only those the most distinguished for genius, character and good scholarship, shall be admitted into the Society.

II. All elections of new members shall be by Scrutiny of silent ballots and that a single negative vote, if not withdrawn, shall prevent election.

III. The members of each and all Branches of the Society constitute one literary Fraternity, and all are pledged to treat each other with kindness and courtesy and to be faithful to the interests of the Society.

IV. The Branch of the Society first established in any State is to be called the Alpha of that State, and it has power, with the consent of the other Alphas, to establish other Branches of the Society within the bounds of said State, to be called the Beta, Gamma, Delta, etc., of the same State.

V. Each Branch of the Society is to have the same devices on its Medal, the same Badge of membership, the same Tokens of recognition, etc.

VI. Each Branch of the Society, while bound by these principles, has full power to frame its own Constitution and By-Laws for the regulation of its meetings, its exercises, its forms of election and initiation, its choice of officers, its financial concerns and all its internal affairs, according to its own pleasure.

In the name of and by the authority of the Connecticut Alpha of the ΦBK, we hereunto affix our names, at New Haven, this nineteenth day of October, Anno Domini, one thousand eight hundred and forty-seven.

James Murdock
Denison Olmsted
Thomas A. Thatcher.

The above Diploma is in strict accordance with the votes passed by the Connecticut Alpha of the Phi Beta Kappa Society.

Edward Strong, Cor. Secretary.

Within two weeks after the charter had been received, the Alpha of Ohio was fully organized, with a constitution, by-laws and a form of initiation, and had more than trebled its charter membership. In addition, literary appointments had been made for the next meeting, to be held on Tuesday, December 7, at 6 o'clock.

The constitution was in many respects like that of Yale after 1823, though some provisions of the by-laws were incorporated.

In the election of students one-fourth of the members of the junior class after nomination might be elected at the first regular meeting of the second term and those still eligible to raise the quota to one-third as computed at the time of the first election, at the first regular meeting of the first term of their senior year. The ancient rule requiring unanimity prevailed, but one casting a single negative vote might "be required to assign his reason, and if he declines doing so, or if no one acknowledges the vote, it shall be considered as withdrawn, and the candidate shall be declared to be elected."

Meetings were to be held once in three weeks, commencing on the second Tuesday of each term. Literary exercises were expected at all regular meetings, and an oration at the annual meeting the day before Commencement."

This was the form of initiation: "The member or members shall be introduced by the Recording Secretary to the Alpha. The Constitution shall then be read by the Corresponding Secretary and be subscribed by the candidates, after which the President shall explain the medal with such accompanying remarks as he may deem appropriate."

For the first time in Phi Beta Kappa's records an order of business at regular meetings was provided:

1. Roll Call
2. Approval of Minutes
3. An Essay
4. An Essay
5. A Critical Review
6. A translation from Greek or Latin into English prose or verse or vice versa.
7. Anonymous Contributions to be read by the Recording Secretary at his discretion
8. Elections
9. Miscellaneous Business
10. Assignment of parts for next meeting to the regular members in alphabetical order.
11. Adjournment

At its organization the Alpha sought to strengthen its position by inviting to its membership several professors and a few recent graduates who were tutors at the College. It also went far afield in Ohio and elsewhere to find men who might welcome invitations to membership.

It was almost inevitable that the meetings outlined by faculty members would fail to appeal to the students. The plan for exercises was continued only three years, but annual meetings at commencement went on, so the Alpha of Ohio soon became an honor society.

During its early years it arranged for essays, reviews, and translations, instead of debates. In January, 1848, "Norman Dunshee read a translation from *Greek*"—the first and possibly the last in the Alpha's history. Interest in literary meetings did not last and no exercises were held after 1852. The College had come to a low ebb; some professors withdrew; there was no commencement in 1853, and two years later President Pierce resigned. In 1861, following the outbreak of the Civil War, there was another period of inactivity. After the Society was revived in 1863, two regular meetings were held annually until 1879. Then came a third slumber of six years, while the College was removed to Cleveland and transformed into Western Reserve University, with Adelbert College succeeding the college of Arts and Sciences. In successive ups and downs the Alpha rivals the original Society at William and Mary. Twelve years inactive out of thirty-eight may not be a proud record, but the fact of survival is greatly to its credit.

The Alpha of Vermont at the University

Twelve years before Vermont became a State, the need of one grammar school in each county and one university in the State was expressed in the Constitution for the Independent Republic of Vermont, July, 1777. Though not repeated in the State Constitution, the first General Assembly, December 2, 1791, granted a charter for the University at Burlington. The first President, Daniel Clarke Sanders, a member of Phi Beta Kappa at Harvard, was not selected until 1800, and the first class was graduated in 1804. Meanwhile a school began in 1799 at Middlebury, received a charter in 1800, and with three Phi Beta Kappa men on its Board of Trustees, was opened as a college in 1801 with a Phi Beta Kappa president, Jeremiah Atwater.

As might be expected, these two colleges in a small State faced many difficulties. Years passed before they could hope for favorable consideration for charters from Phi Beta Kappa. Not until 1848 did the Rev. John Wheeler, for fifteen years president, venture to ask for a charter from his Alma Mater. He had as colleagues a classmate, Professor Joseph Torrey, and Hon. George P. Marsh, one of Burlington's outstanding citizens.

A committee at Yale reported favorably, as the minutes state: "on account of the high character of the petitioners, the prosperity and rank of the University, the fact that there is at present, no branch of the Society in Vermont, and the manifest advantages of extending the influence of our Fraternity. After a full discussion the report was unanimously adopted, and a correspondence was ordered with the sister

Alphas, that we might be empowered by their concurrence to give the necessary charter."

At succeeding annual meetings the consent of the other Alphas was voted, and the officers at Dartmouth drafted a charter, with that of 1787 as a guide. The document has disappeared, but a copy is found in the records of the Alpha which it authorized.

The charter concludes: "With the concurrence and consent of our brothers at Cambridge, at New Haven, at Schenectady, at Brunswick and at Providence, we do, hereby, ratify and confirm this charter, and all rights, privileges, authority and power, granted by the same, unto you the said John Wheeler, the members of the Φ B K of the Vermont University, and their successors forever: and confidently relying on the prudence and discretion of you, our brother, we do secure the same with our Reputations and Fortunes.

"In testimony whereof we hereunto set our hands and affix the seal of the Society, this the sixteenth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-eight, and the seventy second of the American Independence.

"In the name and in behalf of the Alpha of New Hampshire.

"Chs. B. Haddock, President."

With the charter, the "Form of Initiation; Essential Laws, etc. etc. of the Φ B K" were sent to President Wheeler. Since Mr. Marsh, then a member of the United States House of Representatives, could not attend, Professor Torrey was the only other member in Burlington.

Fortunately we have this record prepared by Henry Chaney, register:

"In accordance with the Charter and the foregoing abstract of the essential laws of the Φ B K Society, on Tuesday evening, March 7th, 1848, Rev. John Wheeler, D.D., President of the University of Vermont, summoned the following persons, then present at his study, to hold with him the Foundation Meeting of the Alpha of Vermont of the Φ B K Society, to wit, Professor Joseph Torrey, Farrand N. Benedict, Henry Chaney and Calvin Pease. Rev. Dr. Wheeler declared the Alpha of Vermont established which proceeded immediately to elect its officers, as follows, namely:

John Wheeler	President
Joseph Torrey	Vice-President
Calvin Pease	Corresponding Secretary
Farrand N. Benedict	Treasurer
Henry Chaney	Register

"The President and Vice-President were appointed a Committee to

draft and report a Constitution. Adjourned to Thursday evening, March 9th."

The minutes give no reason for an interval of a year and a half before a meeting to receive the report on the constitution. A prolonged illness of the president has been given in explanation. On November 16, 1849, the president on behalf of the committee, reported a constitution for the Vermont Alpha, which, after discussion and some amendment, was unanimously adopted.

The preamble reads: "Whereas it has been held, in all ages both the duty and the privilege of literary men to associate together to aid the progress of letters by the free communication of knowledge, by frequent interchange of thought, by the expression of sympathy, by the manifestation of kindness, and by mutual counsel; therefore, to carry out this purpose by such means, we constitute the Alpha of Vermont and agree to govern ourselves according to the following regulations."

The "Method of Initiation," the concluding paragraph of the Constitution, reads:

"The members elect having been introduced . . . shall be addressed by the President in a suitable manner, who shall say:

"If upon hearing the Constitution and Laws of the Society, you should approve of them and choose to become members, the Arcana of the Society, viz. the Medal and the Form of Salutation, which, by the Charter, are held to be inviolable, will be explained to you. Or, if you choose not to become members you will withdraw before the explanation is given."

It was the custom to copy the treasurer's report in the records of the annual meetings, and for a time the balance was encouraging. However, in 1852, when Rufus Choate, a rising lawyer of Boston, was the Alpha's first orator, $20 was allowed for his traveling expenses and $25 was required to furnish a band. The report of this occasion in the Burlington *Free Press* is especially interesting after a lapse of almost a century:

"The Society was addressed by Hon. Rufus Choate, of Boston, who, for more than an hour, held a delighted audience in the most gratified attention. Mr. Choate appeared to be in somewhat indifferent health, but his wonderfully acute and brilliant and well-panoplied intellect overshone and obscured all physical imperfections! His topic was, principally, the duty of educated men in regard to international intervention, and while the impassioned eloquence of the orator made his audience weep over the fruitless mission of the gifted Kossuth, his true conservatism and Americanism reconciled them to the popular judgement of the Country which has emphatically refused the 'armed intervention' which the great Hungarian theorist came among us to secure. Mr. Choate was in favor of moral intervention, while he was opposed to physical intervention . . .

With his fascinating oratory and powers of persuasion, [he] pointed out the medium course, and we felt as little able to contest his reasoning as to resist his eloquence."

The address appeared six days later in *The New York Times* with the title, "The Debt of the New World to the Old."

The Beta of Massachusetts at Amherst

Amherst Academy was incorporated in 1816. Two years later $50,000 was raised "for the classical education of indigent young men of piety and talents for the Christian ministry," and a suitable building was erected in 1821 with the aid of citizens who supplied much of the material and did much of the work. Noah Webster, a resident, was president of the trustees of the Academy and did much to promote the work. Zephaniah Swift Moore, the first president, had been president of Williams College and had favored its removal to the Connecticut Valley. Since this suggestion had not been approved, he had accepted the presidency at Amherst, and brought with him more than a dozen students. With two faculty associates and forty-seven young men as students, work began and three students were ready for degrees in 1822.

President Moore was succeeded by Herman Humphrey in 1823 and by Edward Hitchcock in 1845. The latter's administration brought substantial gifts to the College, $75,000 in endowment, and an appropriation of $25,000 from the State legislature. The College enjoyed a high reputation, with a large proportion of its graduates in the Christian ministry in many parts of New England and in the West.

John W. Belcher of the class of 1847, whose family name is perpetuated in near-by Belchertown, led the movement for a Phi Beta Kappa charter, his associates being Nathaniel H. Broughton, Luther Henry Edwards, Lewis I. Fleming, George Soule and Timothy Stowe. These in a class of eighteen stood "highest on the scale of general scholarship."

Six months earlier the faculty had approved their petition "that permission be granted to introduce a branch of the Phi Beta Kappa Society into College," and appointed two professors to make the necessary arrangements on the part of the faculty.

Belcher evidently received a favorable reply from Secretary Strong of the Alpha at Yale, for he forwarded the petition in 1847. The minutes at Yale read: "A petition from six undergraduate members of Amherst College praying for the establishment of a chapter in that institution was presented and referred to a committee, consisting of Drs. Murdock and Bacon, and Professor Larned." The vote was favorable and the petitioners were advised to seek other consents and a charter from Harvard.

The petition encountered no opposition at Brown or elsewhere. At Dartmouth, action was postponed "for one year to give Harvard a chance for previous action." At Union, since the privileges of Harvard were most immediately concerned, the Alpha was "ready to give full and free consent" on notice that the petition was approved at Harvard. At Bowdoin it was voted that the fraternity give its consent, provided the Alpha of Massachusetts did not object.

On August 26 Harvard at its anniversary meeting took favorable action, but, possibly because a *charter* was not requested, failed to direct that one be prepared.

Because of incomplete action at Harvard, six years were to intervene before organization was effected. The delay caused great regret at the time. Belcher died in 1851 and never enjoyed the coveted membership. No members of the class of 1848 pressed for the charter. In the fall of 1849 a new faculty committee was appointed, but they made no progress and another fifteen months passed. Then in January, 1851, the faculty voted that Professors Tyler and Haven be a committee to take all necessary steps for the organization of a chapter of Φ B K in the college.

A paragraph from the minutes of the succeeding anniversary meeting at Harvard is significant:

"It was voted that there be communicated to Brother Tyler of Amherst College a copy of a vote passed by the Society three years ago, permitting a branch of the Φ B K to be established in that College, and that he be informed, that the records of this Society are open to his inspection."

When informed of this response, some seniors in the autumn of 1852 organized and asked for support from the faculty. Their vote on October 28 directs "that Professor Jewett take measures in accordance with a petition from certain members of the senior class for the establishment of a chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa Society in this institution," and also "that Professor Tyler be a committee to prepare a constitution for the Phi Beta Kappa chapter in this College and present it to the faculty."

The document then prepared was recognized on August 9, 1853, as the constitution of the chapter. Members of the class of 1853 formed a tentative organization and sent notices of their selection to the ranking members in the intervening classes. Though no copy of this communication has been found, it is referred to in a "circular" dated May 1, 1853:

"Our first circular, having in some instances not been fully understood, we have concluded to issue another more full and definite.

"The Constitution of the Phi Beta Kappa Society recognizes two classes of members—viz:

"Regular Members, whose names appear as such on the Catalogue, and who transact all the business.

"Honorary Members, a *limited* number of whom may be annually received by nomination and vote of the Regular Members. By our previous circular, you, Sir, were notified of your nomination as a *Regular* Member, and, upon receipt of the prescribed Initiation fee, your name will be registered as such upon our Constitution.

"We append a list of the Members of each class, since that of 1847, who by compliance with the Constitutional conditions can become Regular Members."

The constitution provided that all permanent members of the faculty should be constituent members of the chapter. President Hitchcock, Professors Shepard and Tyler, and four others were thus made members, besides five recent graduates who had become tutors, and sixteen members of the class about to graduate.

The circular concludes: "We also proposed to establish a Fund, by donations of the Regular Members, to be deposited with the College Treasurer, till such time as they shall amount to a respectable sum—such e.g. that the interest shall suffice to provide a social dinner for such members as may be present at each anniversary meeting—or if deemed more proper, to defray the expenses attending the annual Oration. It was for the increase of this fund that your donation was solicited.

"The price of the key is six dollars. You can procure one yourself by direct application to Brown & Kirby, New Haven, Connecticut, or by application to our Treasurer, (Mr. Charles Morse), within five weeks from date, he will procure one for you, so that you can have it next Commencement—at which time we shall hope to see you here without fail, as important business will come before the Society."

The constitution in the record book begins:

"The object in view in the establishment of this Chapter is twofold.—First.—The elevation of the standard of scholarship at home—and Second—a closer fraternity with scholars abroad."

Article III in three sections provided that at the election of honorary members by the "society at Large," the presence of thirty members should be required. Each person present might nominate one candidate, "the vote being in every case by ballot," and election by a three-fourths majority.

All students were eligible to regular membership who were on the merit roll of the faculty and at the close of the junior year had a rank of eighty-five per cent or over. At the close of the first term of the senior year a rank of eighty per cent would insure nomination by the faculty. The nominees, then presented to the immediate members, were balloted for, in alphabetical order, after discussion of their qualifications. Candidates rejected by the immediate members were referred to the faculty

members. On being notified, those elected were to pay a fee of two dollars, sign the constitution, and then be accorded full recognition.

Article IV, respecting meetings, named the Tuesday preceding commencement at two o'clock as the time, and the College chapel as the place for the anniversaries at which officers, honorary members, and an orator and substitute were to be elected, and questions relating to the general interest of the Society were to be decided. Meetings of immediate members were primarily for the election of students. The constitution might be amended only at an anniversary meeting, and then by a vote of two-thirds of the members present. No reference is found to a form of initiation.

The first recorded meeting was held on Tuesday afternoon, August 9, 1853, in the College chapel. A committee was appointed to nominate an orator for the next anniversary meeting, to suggest the time at which the oration should be delivered and to prepare a list of by-laws for adoption at the next regular meeting. The Society then proceeded to the election of thirty-two honorary members, of whom twenty-eight were alumni of the College and three were already members, two at Yale and one at Brown.

During the first year the chapter seems to have done little to make its presence on the campus known. No by-laws were prepared, but there was hope that some might be offered a year later. Professor Jewett offered reasons why "for the present there would be no need of a Fund." However the committee on the orator had been successful, for, though the minutes do not mention it, *The Amherst Collegiate Magazine* states that "Professor C. C. Felton of Harvard spoke that day on the subject: 'Pictures of the Past, or Athens and the Athenians.'"

Within three years sixty-one alumni were added to the twenty-four who had qualified from the classes 1847 to 1852 inclusive. Adding about thirty chosen from three classes on student standing, the membership approximated one hundred and fifty, two-thirds of whom, not having been initiated, had slight opportunity to learn about Phi Beta Kappa. After those first three years very few were elected to honorary membership.

In planning for an address during commencement week the chapter came into competition with organizations which had regularly selected speakers to make public addresses. The Society of Inquiry, a religious organization, had provided a commencement speaker, as had each of the three literary societies, which continued the practice after combining in 1853 into the Social Union. So Phi Beta Kappa did not find it easy to arrange for a third address.

In 1868 the orator was Dr. George S. Hilliard of Harvard, the poet, Josiah G. Holland, a native of the region but not a member of Phi Beta

Kappa. He held a medical degree, had been given an honorary A.M. at Amherst, and was associate editor of the *Springfield Republican.* As "Timothy Titcomb" he had become widely known as a lyceum speaker. His poem or "rhymed lecture," entitled "Jonathan at School," had been heard frequently, and was very popular. The *Republican* noted the orator's "smooth, classical and everyway scholarly and eloquent address . . . over which there was a tinge of dyspepsia, . . . while appetite and good digestion glowed through the rollicking rhymes of Titcomb's poetic 'address.'" This was the chapter's outstanding public occasion.

The Amherst chapter is to be credited with two unusual activities, the offering of a prize and the movement toward the union of chapters. Of the first, proposed near the close of the chapter's first decade by Professor J. H. Seelye, the minutes read:

"Resolved that a prize of forty dollars per year be offered to that member of the chapter who shall show himself in the judgement of the faculty, best entitled to receive it on account of such excellence in the philosophical studies of the senior year as the faculty shall designate."

The first award was made that year to Charles D. Adams, and continuously thereafter (with the exception of three successive years, 1877–79) until 1886. In all, twenty awards were made, totaling eight hundred dollars.

Since this award by a chapter is of such long standing the list of recipients is given:

1863	Charles D. Adams	1873	Frank D. Lord
1864	F. Griffith McDonald	1874	Isaac N. Mills
1865	Edward P. Smith	1875	George B. Adams
1866	Charles H. Parkhurst	1876	Edward H. Knight
1867	William H. Cobb	1880	Russell M. Little
1868	Charles F. Wells	1881	Charles B. Spahr
1869	Edward A. Adams	1882	Edson D. Hale
1870	Frank J. Marsh and George E. Sutherland	1883	Frederick W. Hamlin
		1884	James Mahoney
1871	Joseph N. Blanchard	1886	Jason Hinman
1872	Charles E. Garman		

The first reference to the union of chapters is from the minutes of a special meeting of the Alpha of New York held on April 3, 1858:

"A communication was presented from the Amherst Chapter suggesting the propriety of a general convention of the branches of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, for the purpose of forming a more compact organization, and requesting the consent of this Alpha to such a step, and the appointment of a delegate. On motion of Professor Newman RESOLVED, That

this chapter cordially approves of the objects suggested by our brethren at Amherst, and that Professor William M. Gillespie, Vice-President of this chapter, be the delegate to said convention."

At Dartmouth on July 28: "It was voted that the Secretary be requested to correspond with the Beta of Massachusetts at Amherst College in respect to the object of the proposed convention of the Society of that Institution."

And a week later: "A proposal from the chapter at Amherst College for a general convention of the Fraternity to be called at the time of the next commencement of that college was read and approved, and Rev. Mr. Drummond of Springfield and Rev. A. Wheeler of Topsham were chosen delegates." With the commencement the seniors passed out of the College community, and the juniors were not interested. Hence a movement of potential value failed, and a quarter of a century passed before it was renewed.

Immediately after the selection of orators ceased, the chapter's activities declined. The provision that the senior members should meet to initiate juniors seems to have been disregarded. The faculty posted the names of the one-third of the senior class whom they found eligible, and those who paid the fee and signed the roll were considered members. The student body was scarcely aware that a Phi Beta Kappa chapter had existed at the college. This continued for a full decade.

In May, 1881, Dr. J. H. Seelye, who had become president of the College in 1876, received from Harvard an invitation to send five delegates to a Phi Beta Kappa convention to be held on June 30 in connection with the chapter's centennial exercises. This led to a discussion of the condition of the chapter and to the calling of a meeting to be held immediately after the commencement exercises on June 29. It was unanimously voted to maintain the organization.

Thus the Beta chapter assured itself of a future and of a part in the union of chapters of which some of its members had visions in 1858. It is of interest to note that two of the delegates to the first convention, William C. Esty of Amherst and George L. Goodale of Boston, both of the class of 1860, were students when the earlier proposal for a convention had been under consideration.

The Alpha at William and Mary Revived

For two-thirds of a century after the War for American Independence, the College of William and Mary led a restricted existence. In spite of Thomas Jefferson's attempt to give it the character of a university, it remained a small college under Protestant Episcopal auspices. When it

was reopened in 1782, only two members of Phi Beta Kappa are known to have returned to college. One, Landon Cabell, remained long enough to be convinced that the revival of the Society was impossible. Evidently he took charge of the records, and they remained in the Cabell family more than half a century—first with Landon, then with his son Robert, who in 1848 presented them to the Virginia Historical Society at Richmond.

As a result of a faculty disruption at William and Mary, two members of the Alpha of New York at Union had joined the teaching staff: Morgan J. Smead as professor of humanity, and Silas Totten, as professor of moral and intellectual philosophy. Smead evidently obtained a copy of the records, and after communicating with William Short, moved to revive the Alpha. He and Dr. Totten proceeded, but the reorganization did not occur until a year and a half after Short's death. The formal report was not forwarded by Secretary Smead until a year later. One copy of his letter, that to the Alpha at Brown, has been preserved, dated at Williamsburg, Va., August 6, 1852. It reads in part:

"I have the honor to announce to you the reorganization of the Phi Beta Kappa Society in this College.

"You are doubtless already aware that the parent Society, established here in December 1776, was suspended in January 1781. Owing to the troubles of the times it was apprehended that the College would be dissolved, and the Society at its last meeting sealed up its papers and placed them in safe keeping for future use. Those papers have been carefully preserved.

"In the summer of 1849 I addressed a letter to Mr. William Short of Philadelphia, the last president and only surviving member of the original Society, requesting his permission and authority to revive it in this Institution. He signified his ardent wish that it should be done and commissioned Rev. Dr. Totten and myself, now professors of William and Mary, but alumni of Union College and members of the branch there established, to reorganize the present Society. The legality of this proceeding rests upon Article 24th of the original Constitution, which declares that any number of members shall be competent to act whenever it is necessary for the preservation of the Society. Furnished therefore with the requisite authority and with the papers above alluded to, we have executed our trust: on the 1st of July the Society held its annual meeting and appointed an orator for the next anniversary.

"Thus, after a suspension of three score years and ten, the ancient Alpha of William and Mary has resumed its functions; and the increasing prosperity of the College leads us to believe that the wished for day has at length dawned, in which the confident hope, recorded by the last

members at the close of their proceedings, is destined to receive its accomplishment."

Little is known respecting the progress of the revived Alpha during its decade of activity. During the period the seal which had been used to authenticate the charters was returned to the college. It had been found among the effects of Archibald Stuart, one of the fifty founders, by his son, "in an old box which had been overlooked." Of it he wrote in 1890, "It was of brass. The face of the seal was about the size of a quarter of a dollar, and the Greek letters, Phi Beta Kappa, were engraved upon it. On the obverse [*sic*] side was a socket for a wooden handle, which had been removed. I am sorry to learn that the seal has been lost. . . . It was probably in the college building and was destroyed when that building was destroyed during the late Civil War."

The oration of 1853 by John B. Dabney, "Popular Education," was printed the next year in Baltimore in a pamphlet of twenty-two pages. *The Owl,* a student publication, was irked by the delay, for one of the two copies of January, 1854, contains the inquiry: "Why don't the Fire Beater Cappers publish the oration of Mr. Dabney LL.D.? Is it too long, or are they ashamed of it?" The second oration, by Hugh Blair Griggsby on July 3, 1855, was published the same year by "resolution of the Society."

In that address the speaker expressed the widely-felt enthusiasm over the revival of the chapter.

"Before I proceed to the subject which I have selected for the present occasion, I cannot refrain from expressing my grateful acknowledgments to the Society . . . for the honor of admission into its ranks, and my delight at its re-establishment. The Phi Beta Kappa Society, instituted more than two-thirds of a century ago within the walls of William and Mary by some of Virginia's noblest sons, and intertwining itself since with the most eminent colleges of the Union, has performed an office of incalculable importance in the history of American Literature. The names of John Marshall, Bushrod Washington, Spencer Roane, John Nivison, the Cabells, the Stuarts, Hardy, Page, Cooke, the Bookers, the Shorts, and others, who laid its foundations, or were among its earliest members, deserve to be held in lasting remembrance. The most eminent names in war and peace, throughout the Union, have been subsequently inscribed upon its rolls. Its annual gatherings constitute the great literary jubilee of our country. Sir, I indulge the hope,—nay more than hope,—the firm and full belief, that its re-institution here in the place of its birth, appealing, as it does, with irresistible power to our love of letters and to our love of country, is an omen of cheering import; that its star shall be obscured no more; and that, as the past generations beheld its genial light, so the generations to come will hail its influence sweetly and charmingly blended

with the radiance of our venerable college, now and henceforth, with becoming pride and joy."

In the following year, the Alpha listened to a poem "Virginia" by John R. Thompson, editor of *The Southern Literary Messenger,* afterward published by order of the Society and even now frequently quoted. Before the next anniversary of which record has been found, the main building of the college was partially destroyed by fire on February 8, 1859.

Work on the chapel had gone forward so that it was ready for the Phi Beta Kappa exercises of 1860, when Thomas Dunn English was the poet. His poem, "Two Voices," made a deep impression. The poem suggested the impending difficulties that were to grow in intensity, to find outcome in the election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency of the United States, and to result in the Confederacy which sought for a time a division of the Union of States. After imploring a continuance of peaceful enterprise in the State whose glories he had sung, in the closing verses he bade her with earnest endeavor to

> Raise smiling villages and fertile fields;
> And send from out her many ports, her ships,
> Bearing the products of her toil and skill,
> To the four quarters of the busy globe.
> And, should some rash and parricidal wretch
> Put forth his hand to strike a blow against her,
> To sever the union of these equal States,
> Or trample on a State within the Union—
> Rain on him thou, the poet's curse of fire,
> And doom and damn him to the hell of scorn.

The Alpha of Alabama at the University

The end of the administration of its first president, Dr. Alva Wood, a member of Phi Beta Kappa at Harvard, found the University of Alabama in a discouraging condition. When Dr. Wood resigned in 1827, after six years of service, the entire faculty resigned with him. His successor, Basil Manly, a graduate of the college of South Carolina, had had no experience as an educator. Faced by the need of securing a faculty, he visited Frederick A. P. Barnard, who had been teaching in institutions for the deaf in Hartford and New York, and offered him the professorship of mathematics and natural philosophy. Manly's service as president and Barnard's as professor continued for eighteen years until 1855, when Barnard accepted a professorship at the University of Mississippi, and later became president.

Barnard found two members of Phi Beta Kappa in Alabama, Francis Bugbee of the University Board of Trustees and Jefferson Franklin Jackson. These two were ready to join in an application for a charter. But before it was forwarded, the subject was brought before the faculty on July 6, 1849, and "Professor Barnard was authorized to draft a petition, with a view to obtaining for the students an Alpha of the Phi Beta Kappa Society."

The petition reached Yale in time for consideration at its anniversary meeting, 1849. Presented by Professor Barnard and advocated by Professors Silliman, Olmsted and Thatcher, it was given cordial approval.

Meanwhile Professor Barnard was informed of the favorable action at Yale, and a tentative organization of the Alpha of Alabama was effected. Some alumni living in the city, leading members of the Board of Trustees, all members of the faculty, and a group of prominent graduates were selected as members.

The faculty of the University had found social fraternities less helpful than they had expected, as President Manly wrote: "The faculty had . . . become painfully aware of the evils attending the existence and multiplication of secret societies formed among students beyond the inspection and control of the Faculty and Trustees, the proper guardians of the University."

And besides he was confronted with a new revelation, for at a meeting, "The Faculty was surprised by a statement from Professor F. A. P. Barnard, to the effect that the charter which had been forwarded from New Haven last fall had been used by himself and some other person in forming the Alabama Alpha of the Society of Phi Beta Kappa; and the faculty were verbally informed that they had all been honored by election as members thereof."

Nothing could calm the President, who believed that the *resolution* sent to Professor Barnard was a charter addressed to the faculty and trustees and that the action taken had been irregular and was therefore illegal. Barnard believed that the Alpha could be organized by members of the Society only, and that the provisional organization was justified and adequate to meet the situation until other Alphas would give consent. For such consent he had written, confident of favorable replies. President Manly was not mollified; rather he was strengthened in opposition by a letter from Trustee Bugbee, who had not been present at the organization. Only partially informed, Manly argued that since the power granted had been "confined to the faculty, the organization effected without them is not a legitimate descendant of Oxford . . . and consequently cannot be recognized."

Barnard was unwilling to surrender. He decided to go forward with

the plans for meetings at commencement. A first meeting for elections was held July 5, 1851, followed by another on the 14th. Members-elect were initiated, and the Alpha of Alabama was set on the way of regular activities. Professor Barnard had reason to feel that his society was well anchored, for the Governor of the State was its president, Francis Bugbee of Montgomery, senior trustee of the University, a lawyer of prominence who had served a term in the legislature of the State, was vice-president and a leading lawyer of the city, Rufus H. Clement, was treasurer and corresponding secretary.

The opposition of President Manly was based on the irregular method pursued by Professor Barnard in effecting the organization, and was intensified by the selection of students to membership, granting college honors without previous faculty approval. His opposition was not allayed by a further letter from Trustee Bugbee in which he affirmed that Phi Beta Kappa was not like other secret societies.

"Its secret," he wrote, "consists in having nothing to divulge . . . the only society in our college over which the Faculty exercise a controlling influence; the members are selected by the society entirely on the ground of college scholarship, on their standing in their classes respectively, for excellence in college studies, and this must principally be determined by the Faculty who attend meetings and hold offices, and meet the other members in consultation on equal and confidential terms since its great object is to promote among the students a generous spirit of emulation in college duties by their distinguishing those who have been most successful, and to promote order. . . . It is recommended by its venerable antiquity, and by its eminent success. . . . The annual meeting, being held at the commencement, exercises a strong influence in drawing together its members for social intercourse."

Though the Alpha was inactive during the year, the President was not satisfied. A first result was the resignation of Professor Barnard as secretary of the Faculty. President Manly prepared a report to the Trustees for their commencement meeting in 1852. He related the story of the Alpha's organization. His conclusion was:

"We are constrained to express to you our convictions that the Society, in its present assumed relations to the University, constitutes an impediment to the harmonious and successful discharge of our duties. And we confidently appeal to the Board of Trustees to do what lies in their power to render it as harmless as possible."

This paper was signed by President Manly and Professors Garland and Stafford. A statement signed by Professors Pratt and Benagh reads, "While we approve in general, of the statements and conclusions of this paper, we defer our signatures for the present, inasmuch as we formed a

connection with the Society under imperfect view of the position and relations of parties, and prefer to meet the Society before taking any formal or decided step."

Meanwhile these two professors, favorable to Professor Barnard, had used their good offices to excellent effect, for the next day at a special meeting of the faculty the controversy was brought to a happy conclusion by the acceptance of a proposal of the Alpha prepared by a committee and read by President Manly:

"Whereas this Society was organized without the sanction or consent of the Faculty of the University as contemplated by the parent Society, from which cause the countenance and support of the Faculty have been withheld from it, and without which it will probably languish and fail in the accomplishment of its purpose.

"Now therefore to concentrate and harmonize all these influences so essential to our prosperity, and to enable this Society to fulfil its appropriate functions by holding out additional inducements for the attainment of high scholarship and elevated moral character, and to prevent even the appearance of this Society being placed in an antagonism, instead of being an adjunct and aid to the University.

"Resolved that application be made to the Faculty of the University of Alabama, to unite with us, in a friendly reorganization of this Society, by which all elections that have hitherto been made shall be confirmed, and this Society in future have the same connexion with the University of Alabama that the parent Society has with Yale College."

The minutes of the faculty continue:

"Upon consideration of the whole matter, the Faculty resolve as follows:

"That the Faculty give their full consent to a reorganization of the Society, by which all elections that have hitherto been made, shall be confirmed *as of this day*—and the Society shall hold the same general relation to the University, that the Parent Society holds to Yale College.

"Further, to avoid future misunderstanding, the Faculty declare the above assent to be taken as yielded, only in case such original papers have been received as will authorize such organization, according to the rules and usages of the parent society.

"And further, this assent to the resolution of the Society is not to be taken as either authorizing or requiring that the present Constitution and Laws shall or may be altered to correspond with those of the Parent Society—but the Faculty prefer and expect that the Society will continue their Constitution and Laws as they at present exist, and that whatever changes shall be thought best, be accomplished in the usual way.

"Ordered that a copy of this record be made by the Secretary, and presented to the Committee of Phi Beta Kappa Society."

It is a satisfaction that, though the official records of the beginnings of the Alpha of Alabama are lost, it is possible eighty years later to reveal so much respecting its organization. During its first decade at least four men were elected to honorary membership, and twenty-one from among the alumni at the time the Alpha was organized. The numbers were probably much larger. It is believed that others were later chosen, but of this no evidence has been found. An average of five students were elected each year on the basis of scholarship and good character. Thus far it has not been possible to compile a complete list of orators. The address delivered in 1852 by the Rev. W. H. Milburn has been mentioned. It is possible that an orator or a poet was presented at each succeeding anniversary. In 1854 Professor Barnard gave an address on "Art Culture, Its Relations to National Refinement and National Morality," which was published.

With the outbreak of the Civil War the chapter became inactive, and but one mention of it has been found in the records before the reorganization in 1912. In 1886 the Senate made cordial suggestions, but learned that the University was not "in a position to support and carry on an efficient chapter." It may be that the unpleasantness which attended the organization of the Alpha of Alabama helped Professor Barnard to decide to accept in 1855 the professorship of astronomy and mathematics in the University of Mississippi, even though he had regained the confidence of his colleagues in Alabama. About that time some Alphas unadvisedly accepted a report that a Phi Beta Kappa Society had been instituted at the University of Mississippi. Some professors had formed a tentative organization called Phi Beta Kappa, but when they learned how difficult it was to get the necessary consents, they chose another name and the incident was closed at Oxford.

The Alpha of Alabama was for a decade Phi Beta Kappa's most distant representative, and Frederick A. P. Barnard, the leading exponent of a policy of expansion. After his return to the North he took the lead in obtaining authority for the institution of the chapter at Columbia College, of which he was president.

The Beta of New York at New York University

The need of another institution of higher learning in the growing New York metropolis was keenly felt, largely because Columbia College made a limited appeal, being considered, though without good reason, as too closely associated with the Protestant Episcopal Church.

To meet the needs of a city with wide commercial interest, the Mer-

cantile Library had been opened in 1821 and the New York Athenæum in 1824, to provide monthly lectures for men and women, with the object of advancing science, art, and literature. The movement for a new university awaited the call of a clergyman, James M. Matthews, then serving the South Reformed Church with Dutch antecedents. He had graduated at Union College in 1803, and was made an honorary member of the Alpha at its organization in 1817.

The meeting was held at the home of the Reverend Mr. Matthews in 1829 and was attended by nine men, one a graduate of Harvard, one of William and Mary, three of Columbia, and one of Union. At this meeting steps were taken which resulted in a new university, the raising of a fund, the granting of a charter by the Regents of the University of the State of New York on September 26, 1832, the election of Matthews as Chancellor, the prompt opening of University College in temporary quarters with 105 students enrolled, and the selection of a site for a building on Washington Square.

Chancellor Matthews, who served until 1838, and his successor, Theodore Frelinghuysen, a graduate of Princeton and honorary member of the Alpha of New York, were determined to obtain men of distinction for the teaching staff of the University. Samuel F. B. Morse, professor of the arts of design, had while a member of the faculty invented the electric telegraph, and John William Draper of the medical faculty was the first man in America to make a portrait by the Daguerre process. Two men of distinction were called from Western Reserve, Elias Loomis, to the chair of mathematics, and Samuel St. John, to that of chemistry and mineralogy. Howard Crosby, professor of Greek, had been elected an honorary member at Harvard. These men were able to present a stronger appeal for a Phi Beta Kappa charter than that which, as noted above, was denied in 1836. Its form is not known. The first reference to it is found in the minutes of the annual meeting at Union in 1857, when the corresponding secretary reported "that an application had been received from New York University for the establishment there of a chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa." It was at once moved "that this chapter agree to the establishment of such chapter."

Correspondence during succeeding months revealed a change of attitude at Yale and at Harvard, which was reported at the succeeding anniversary thus: "The Alpha of Massachusetts and the Alpha and Beta of Connecticut—with whom correspondence had been had—thought the consent necessary only of the chapter or chapters in the State in which it was proposed to organize a new chapter, but that if their consent was deemed necessary to the organization of a Beta in New York University it would be cheerfully given."

The action of the previous anniversary was confirmed, and "the officers were authorized (as many as could attend) to organize such a chapter in that institution."

By a resolution the brethren at Union chose a new method of instituting the Beta—sending a delegate, Professor William M. Gillespie, instead of a charter. Professor Gillespie represented a Society of the origin and development of which he was relatively uninformed. Educated at Columbia College, where no authorized Phi Beta Kappa meetings had ever been held, he had known nothing of the Society's activities until, when nearly thirty-five years of age, he accepted a professorship at Union College, and was made an honorary member. There he found that the leaders knew little more of the history of Phi Beta Kappa. Its charter contained no information except that the Alphas at Yale, Harvard, and Dartmouth had joined in authorizing it. The laws had been changed by frequent amendments, to what was then considered a proper norm of fraternity policy. Professor Gillespie found at the meeting seven members of Phi Beta Kappa, three members of the faculty, and five men of New York City. Six undergraduates were elected and initiated. The Beta accepted the ancient constitution, but within a year replaced it by one which followed closely the provisions of the constitution of the Society at Harvard.

In accordance with one provision "Graduates and Honorary members" were to be "chosen at the anniversary meeting or at a special meeting of the Society at large," and students to be chosen by the immediate society, consisting of the "Faculty of Science and Letters and the undergraduate members of the Society, but not before the third term of the junior year."

Thus the faculty of arts and sciences was in full control. No undergraduate activities were expected. The Beta's activities consisted principally in maintaining its organization and in selecting the highest ranking students to membership. Slight interest was taken in graduate and honorary elections, only six alumni and eight others being chosen in twenty-five years. At their reception students were given in the ritual no information respecting the Fraternity's history and ideals; consequently they had slight occasion to show interest or to take pride in their Phi Beta Kappa associations. During that quarter century the average number elected was six; the smallest in any one year being three, and the largest, ten.

The Beta of Ohio at Kenyon College

The founder of Kenyon College was Philander Chase, Dartmouth 1796, consecrated Bishop of Ohio in the Protestant Episcopal Church. He made his home at Worthington, where he began a successful school.

Convinced of the need of a theological seminary to train young men for work in pioneer communities, he applied to the Legislature for a charter, and went to England to appeal for funds. Nearly five thousand pounds was pledged, largely because of the patronage of Lords Gambier and Kenyon. On his return Bishop Chase purchased two large tracts of land near Mount Vernon, about forty miles northeast of Columbus, giving the name Gambier to the place and Kenyon to the seminary. Finding that a school and a college were necessary, he obtained in 1826 a modification of the act of incorporation, authorizing the faculty of the seminary to grant A.B. degrees. The institution progressed slowly under his successors until 1840, after which the Bishop of Ohio was no longer president of the College. Of the next four presidents two were laymen.

Members of Phi Beta Kappa at the College included two professors, Thomas Mather Smith and Hamilton Lamphere Smith, and an influential trustee, John W. Andrews. When they learned of the provision which gave an Alpha power, with the consent of the other Alphas, to grant charters in its own State, they moved for a charter for Kenyon.

At a meeting held at Western Reserve in June, 1858, it was: "Resolved that the request be granted and that a Branch of the Phi Beta Kappa be established in said institution under the name and title of the Beta of Ohio, in accordance with the provisions of the fourth article of the Constitution of the Alpha." On motion it was voted that "Our trusty and beloved brother, Professor [Thomas M.] Smith and Hamilton L. Smith and John W. Andrews or a majority of them be a commission to organize said Beta when consent of the other Alphas shall be obtained." Professors Day, Seymour, and Young were appointed a committee to send a charter to these commissioners.

The men at Kenyon did not wait for consents, or for a charter, but became active under a temporary organization eighteen months before the charter came. It was read on April 18, 1860, at a regular meeting and then apparently forgotten, for it was not copied into the records and the original was not preserved.

The first entry in the book of minutes reads: "Notice having been received from the Alpha of Ohio authorizing J. W. Andrews, Rev. T. M. Smith and Prof. H. L. Smith to proceed in the initiatory steps necessary for organizing a chapter of the ΦBK Society at Kenyon College under the name of B of Ohio, a meeting of the above named Committee was held at the home of Prof. Wharton on the evening of June 29, 1858, at which meeting Pres. L. Andrews, Prof. J. Trimble, Prof. F. Wharton, Prof. B. L. Lang and Prof. H. D. Lathrop were elected members and the following [nine] gentlemen of the Senior Class, . . . this election to be valid upon establishment of the Chapter by consent of the other Alphas."

The constitution was copied in the book of minutes. It included this paragraph: "The objects of this, as a chapter of the Φ B K Society, are the promotion of literature and science generally; and the formation of a fraternity of literary men, in connection with Kenyon College, who shall have in view particularly the promotion of the interests of the said institution."

It was provided "that in the election of members the Society shall direct their attention to the talents, scholarship, general acquirements, and moral character of the candidate." The unanimous ballot and the one-third rule were continued, some juniors becoming eligible after they had passed their final examinations satisfactorily.

The declaration to be signed read as follows: "Whereas, Literary Associations tend to accelerate the progress of useful knowledge, by presenting to the members additional motives to exertion, and increased means of improvement; and whereas, such Associations afford numerous opportunities for cultivating social and benevolent feelings,

"I, the Undersigned, having been elected a member of the Fraternity of the Φ. B. K., and understanding that the cultivation of science and philosophy is its leading object, do hereby express my desire of becoming a member. I do also promise obedience to the laws and regulations as they now exist, or as they may hereafter be altered by the Society, and pledge myself to keep inviolate all the arcana of the Association."

The literary committee was to prepare a list of subjects, from which one was to be chosen for discussion by students at each regular meeting unless some graduate volunteered a paper.

The constitution evidently proved satisfactory, for the Beta went on its way, showing an active interest in discussion meetings. In January, 1869, it was voted to hold monthly meetings during the college year, and the records show that the meetings were held with regularity.

The Gamma of Ohio at Marietta College

In 1860, Marietta College was completing its first quarter of a century. An institute, begun several years earlier, received in 1835 from the Legislature of Ohio a college charter, and three years later conferred its first degrees. Judged by enrollment, the College made slow progress, and by 1860 had graduated only two hundred and twenty-two students, of whom about one-half had entered the Christian ministry. There were in Ohio at least four colleges of good standing older than Marietta, but in none of them was interest in Phi Beta Kappa aroused by the news of the organization at Kenyon. At Marietta only was a move made to obtain a charter. The story of this endeavor, written by Professor Evan Wilhelm

Evans, professor of natural philosophy and astronomy, was entered in the record book of the chapter:

"In the spring of 1860 the undersigned, at the request of certain undergraduates of Marietta College, and with the approval of the faculty, opened a correspondence with the Alpha of Connecticut in Yale College, and visited in person the Alpha of Ohio in Western Reserve College, with the view of obtaining a charter for establishing a branch of said society in this college.

"He was duly informed that no obstacle would be interposed by the above chapter, or by any of the other Alphas, provided there were three graduate members of the Phi Beta Kappa resident in Marietta uniting in the request, this number being required by the original constitution of the society to constitute a new chapter. Accordingly a petition was sent in due form to the Alpha of Ohio signed by Professor John Kendrick, member of the Dartmouth Chapter; Professor E. W. Evans, member of the Yale Chapter; and T. C. H. Smith, Esq., member of the Harvard Chapter, all of whom were at that time resident in Marietta. A charter was received bearing the date of the ninth of June, Anno Domini, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty. . . .

"On the 20th of June a meeting of the petitioners was held in the office of Judge Martin D. Follett, where Professor Kendrick was chosen President for temporary organization and Professor Evans, Secretary. The following persons were elected members of the Society; President Israel W. Andrews, Professors Ebenezer B. Andrews and George R. Rossiter, and Judge Martin D. Follett. At the second meeting, held on June 23, the Society elected as members John Follett of the class of 1855, Tutors Theodore E. Greenwood and David E. Beach of the class of 1859, Timothy L. Condit and Reese Marshall Newport of the graduating class, and Edwin W. Newton and Russell B. Brownell of the Junior Class."

Hence the Gamma was organized with three charter members, one honorary member (the president of the college), six graduates (two professors and two tutors), two seniors and two juniors—fourteen in all.

According to the constitution, all the officers except the recording secretary were to be graduate members of Phi Beta Kappa, resident in Marietta. The corresponding secretary was charged with the official correspondence, and particularly "to hold all communication with the other chapters of the Phi Beta Kappa, and especially with the Alpha of Ohio, in reference to such matters as may pertain to the brotherhood."

Monthly meetings during the college terms were to be held, at which in addition to business, there was to be discussion of such scientific and literary topics as the Society should select and approve. At the annual

reunion in commencement week, whenever practicable, an oration was to be delivered by a graduate member of the Phi Beta Kappa.

Only seniors in Marietta College who had "stood by the college averages, of one or more years next preceding, among the best fourth in his class, ranked according to scholarship," were to be eligible to membership. In the election of graduate members the restrictions imposed by the charter were to govern. These required election by "silent ballot, and a single negative vote, if not withdrawn," would prevent an election.

All members resident in Marietta were entitled to all the powers and privileges of members. One "man of great literary or scientific eminence," not a graduate, might be elected to honorary membership each year at the annual meeting. The size of the classes did not make eligible a large number of undergraduates, and the average number chosen during the first decade was three and one-half, in the second decade six. For two years monthly meetings were held with some regularity at the homes of members.

The Marietta chapter did not publish a catalogue of its members until 1935, at the celebration of its seventy-fifth anniversary, nor did it arrange for the printing of any of the orations delivered at its commencements. During all the years to the organization of the United Chapters it lived very much to itself. The chapter does not appear in any early list. Evidently it was not invited to send delegates to the first convention held in 1881, nor to the first and second sessions of the National Council. Not until the meeting of the Senate, March 16, 1896, was its existence noted in the records.

The Gamma of Massachusetts at Williams College

Between 1799, when the first application was presented for a branch at Williams College, until the second application in 1864, the College had grown in members and influence under its first three presidents—Ebenezer Fitch, Zephaniah Swift Moore, and Edward Dorr Griffin, all members of Phi Beta Kappa.

In 1833 two seniors, Azariah S. Clark and Alexander Hyde (whose father, Rev. Alvan Hyde, Dartmouth 1788, a trustee, was a member of Phi Beta Kappa), went to Schenectady for a charter, but were advised that the Alpha of New York had no primary jurisdiction. They returned, however, with a Kappa Alpha charter. President Griffin made no move to obtain a Phi Beta Kappa charter. Mark Hopkins, who succeeded President Griffin, had no Phi Beta Kappa connections and was occupied with the administration of a healthy, growing college.

The feeling of isolation of the College, widely shared by some of its friends, passed when railroads penetrated the valley. In 1873 a line from Boston through the Hoosac Tunnel put Williamstown on a direct route to the Mohawk Valley and the far West. No longer did its friends need to apologize for its isolation.

In 1861 the question of a Phi Beta Kappa charter arose. William T. R. Marvin of the class of 1854, then a resident of Boston, discussed with a friend, Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, Harvard 1831, the prospects of a charter. He learned that a Williams graduate, Hon. Emory Washburn, who had been Governor of Massachusetts and was then professor of law at Harvard, had been made an honorary member there and was ready to foster the project. In 1911, when nearly eighty years of age, Marvin fortunately wrote to Franklin Carter, a former president of Williams, respecting his activities. He stated that on consulting John E. Hudson, secretary of the Harvard chapter, and Mayor Shurtleff, he was informed that if the petitioners could get the consent and aid of the faculty he might "rely on the issue of a charter. . . . Dr. Griffin and Professor Tatlock . . . were in sympathy with my plans and ready to sign the petition."

Students seem in the end to have taken the lead by inviting faculty cooperation. Nearly four years later a meeting was called. The minutes read: "A meeting of students from the Senior and Junior classes, comprising those of the highest standing in scholarship, was held July 12, 1864, for the purpose of establishing a provisional organization of the Phi Beta Kappa Society in this college, subject to the recognition and approval of the parent Alpha of the State of Massachusetts."

A petition was drafted and signed by seven men at the College to be sent to the anniversary meeting of the Harvard chapter on July 21. At the business session a petition from the alumni and undergraduates of Williams College was presented by "Bro. Shurtleff" asking . . . "that a charter, together with all accompanying privileges be granted them, . . . and that the provisional organization now formed at Williams be acknowledged as the Gamma chapter."

Before adjournment reference of the petition meanwhile having been made to a committee, the chapter voted that "the petition from Williams College . . . be granted; and that the Committee appointed to consider it be continued to carry it into effect."

On Saturday, July 30, by virtue of its provisional organization, a meeting of the Society was held with Professor Tatlock in the chair. Mr. Marvin, invited "to communicate some particulars . . . stated that the petition . . . had succeeded, . . . narrated the proceedings, privileges and general character of the Society, . . . and gave a detailed account of the circumstances connected with the establishment of the Gamma chapter."

He then read the constitution of the Harvard chapter, which was referred to a committee to present it with suitable amendments.

At the agreed hour and place the concluding meeting of the provisional organization was held, at which Marvin moved: "that the provisional organization adjourn and that the charter members then convene, preparatory to a regular meeting of the Society to be held in the chapel within half an hour . . . The provisional organization then adjourned."

Thus within three weeks after the initial meeting of July 12, and only ten days after favorable action had been voted at Harvard, the way was clear for the first meeting of the Gamma of Massachusetts under an anticipated charter, but with a constitution duly prepared and adopted. When the meeting convened, it accepted what had been done, though no formal vote was recorded.

The pages of *The Williams Quarterly* contained this account: "The first public exercises of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, held on Monday afternoon . . . in the church, were introduced by a speech from the Hon. Emory Washburn relative to the history of the Society. President Hill of Harvard was the orator of the day. His subject was Free Trade. . . . The poet of the occasion, E. W. Canning Esq., of Boston, followed with a well written production on 'The lesson of True Philosophy in our Country's present crisis.' The supper which followed the exercises was by far the pleasantest thing of the day."

Of the anniversary a year later *The Williams Quarterly* stated that, "the annual address was delivered before the Society and quite a large audience . . . by Bishop Clark of Providence, R. I. . . . on the relation of Educated Man to American Society, and the tone was conservative rather than radical." The third anniversary was made memorable by the presentation of the charter. The text had been prepared in Latin by William Everett of the Boston Latin School and contained, as Marvin wrote, "mellifluous and polysyllabic adjectives" to describe the several charter members. He had it suitably engrossed, and because the Harvard Chapter had no seal, got permission to have an impression taken on wax from the die of an old silver medal used half a century ago for the badge, as the older gold keys were not in good form at Harvard in the 40's.

To insure the presence of this unusual document, the chapter voted to send a coach to bring its author from North Adams, to which place the railroads had been extended from the south through Pittsfield.

The charter in translation:

> The President and Members of the Society of Φ B. K. Chapter A. of Harvard College in the State of Massachusetts, to all to whom this writing shall come, perpetual greeting in the Lord.

Whereas we have been informed by alumni of Williams College that in that institution there are certain gentlemen, withal men most worthy of consideration for both number and ability, who have been inspired with a great love and unquenchable desire of joining our venerable Society and of receiving its rites, and whereas it is perfectly evident that they are particularly worthy of being admitted by us into our association and friendship, be it known by these presents that we, the President and members of this Society, do create and appoint the very distinguished Emory Washburn, formerly Governor of our beloved Commonwealth, the most learned gentlemen John Tatlock, Paul Ansel Chadbourne, John Bascom, Arthur Latham Perry, Franklin Carter, Professors in Williams College, the highly esteemed Joseph White, Treasurer in the same College, and widely experienced Nathaniel Herrick Griffin, Librarian, and the very eminent William Theophilus Rogers Marvin, to constitute Chapter Γ of the Society of ΦB. K., and that we share with them all the privileges and honors of the Society, as far as concerns us, and receive them into our friendship and fellowship.

In witness whereof we, the President and Secretary, have affixed our signatures to this document the fifteenth day of July, in the year of Grace eighteen hundred and sixty-four.

J. R. Lowell, President
J. E. Hudson, Secretary

A year later a printed catalogue was authorized which came in 1868 from "the Press of T. R. Marvin and Son, 42 Congress St., Boston"—A Catalogue of the Fraternity of Φ. B. K. Gamma of Massachusetts.

An introductory note lists the branches of the Society:

Alpha of Virginia at William and Mary College, Williamsburg (the original charter revived)
Alpha of Massachusetts, at Harvard College, Cambridge
Beta of Massachusetts, at Amherst College, Amherst
Gamma of Massachusetts, at Williams College, Williamstown
Alpha of Connecticut, at Yale College, New Haven
Beta of Connecticut, at Trinity College, Hartford
Gamma of Connecticut, at Wesleyan University, Middletown
Alpha of New Hampshire, at Dartmouth College, Hanover
Alpha of New York, at Union College, Schenectady
Beta of New York, at New York University
Gamma of New York, at College of the City of New York
Alpha of Maine, at Bowdoin College, Brunswick
Alpha of Rhode Island, at Brown University, Providence
Alpha of Vermont, at University of Vermont, Burlington

Alpha of Ohio, at Western Reserve College, Hudson
Alpha of Alabama, at University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa
Alpha of Mississippi, at University of Mississippi

The Beta and Gamma of Ohio were omitted; the activity of the Alpha of Virginia and Alabama was assumed; there never had been an Alpha of Mississippi.

The members were listed in classes from 1802. Those elected before the organization of the chapter number 230; from classes of 1864 to 1868, sixty. Members of the latter class were designated immediate members. In addition four non-graduates of Williams had been received. The title page displays the key which the chapter had adopted, both faces being shown, with the date on which the charter was voted at Harvard, July 21, 1864. No key with this design is known to be extant. Keys like this were made for about thirty years and were then superseded by an earlier pattern with the date of the founding at William and Mary.

The Beta of Vermont at Middlebury College

The inhabitants of early Vermont were zealous for educational advantages for their sons. Before statehood had been attained, four grammar schools were incorporated, and ten others within the next ten years, several of them bearing names of the counties in which they were located. In 1797 the Addison County School was incorporated at Middlebury, a little west of the geographical center of the State. Slow progress in carrying forward plans for the university at Burlington opened the way for consideration of a college at Middlebury. This resulted in a petition presented in 1798 to the Legislature and granted two years later on the recommendation of President Timothy Dwight of Yale. Jeremiah Atwater, after a year as principal of the school, became president of the College and served until 1809.

The College prospered for more than thirty years, with twenty-four as the average number of graduates. During the next quarter of a century the enrollment was much smaller, the number of graduates averaging only twelve, owing in part to a struggle with financial limitations.

During the presidency of Benjamin Larrabee, from 1840 to 1866, a slight increase in attendance gave encouragement. In his administration the faculty was recruited almost entirely from graduates of the college. Not until 1866, when George Nelson Webber became professor of intellectual and moral philosophy, was there a member of Phi Beta Kappa on the faculty. It is assumed that Professor Webber encouraged the proposal to apply for a charter. A colleague, Brainerd Kellogg, professor of

rhetoric and English literature, acted as correspondent. A minute of the Alpha at Burlington, dated August 1, 1865, reads:

"A communication from Prof. Brainerd Kellogg of Middlebury College praying for the establishment of a branch of the Phi Beta Kappa in that Institution, was received and read by the Registrar. After some consideration of the subject by the Society, it was voted to postpone the matter to a future meeting, the Society not feeling itself prepared to proceed without fuller knowledge of the facts of the case and of the usages of the Society in view of such applications."

The members were conservative and, convinced that "the dignity of the Society and the preservation of its high character would forbid the establishment of new chapters except by the concurrent action of several branches," decided to transmit to each chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa a copy of their decision. After a year communications were at hand from the chapters at Dartmouth and Brown signifying their concurrence. Another came from the chapter at New Haven, stating that by an oversight the subject had not been brought to the notice of that chapter at its annual meeting, but it had been "voted to suspend the rule requiring the concurrence of three other chapters, . . . and to grant a charter to the applicants at Middlebury. Prof. M. H. Buckham was appointed to establish a chapter in Middlebury College as requested."

The officers seem to have been negligent; for no charter was prepared, and there is no evidence that Professor Buckham fulfilled his commission. Since the original Middlebury record book has disappeared, we have to depend on a letter from the secretary:

"At a meeting held August 7, 1868, at which there were present President Harvey Denison Kitchel, '35; Professor William Henry Parker, '30; Professor Solon Albee, '51; Professor Brainerd Kellogg, '51; and Professor George Nelson Webber, Amherst, '52; a letter was presented from the Alpha Chapter, at the University of Vermont, authorizing the five persons here named to form themselves into a fraternity of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, to be denominated the Beta of Vermont.

"In accordance with the said letter, the prescribed initiatory affirmation was proposed by Professor Webber and assented to by the others present, who thereupon, organized themselves into a chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, adopting the fundamental laws of the same. President Kitchel was elected president, Professor Parker vice-president, Professor Kellogg corresponding secretary, and registrar, and Professor Webber treasurer. It was voted to adopt provisionally the by-laws of the chapter at Dartmouth. At a subsequent meeting, a committee appointed to prepare a list of living alumni, from the beginning through the class of 1868, whose record entitled them to membership in the Society, pre-

sented one hundred and fifty-eight names, the list reaching back to the class of 1807. For a number of years the graduates so designated were received into membership only after initiation, but it was subsequently voted that they should all be considered members by virtue of their inclusion in the original list. From 1868 to 1915 all in each class were elected to membership who were in the first third of the class and had attained an average of 85%."

The list of alumni whose names were submitted for the General Catalogue of 1922 reveals that they were members of fifty-two of the sixty-two classes of the College, including five from the class of 1868. Thereafter until the organization of the United Chapters the average number chosen was less than four. During nearly a half century no other alumni were elected and only one, a professor in the College, was given honorary membership. Some information respecting the activities of the chapter is to be found in *The Middlebury Register*. Of the first anniversary, held on August 10, 1869, in the regular meeting place (the Congregational Church), *The Register* printed an extended account. The orator of the day was Jeremiah L. Diman, D.D., professor of history at Brown, who gave as his subject, "The True Method of Academic Culture."

Professor Diman's address "was a chaste, classical production delivered in the most fascinating manner by a finished scholar and orator, abounding in eloquent passages and appropriate quotations from the writings of the most scholarly minds in the world . . . Assigning both the classical and the scientific courses places worthy of great regard and commendation he especially favored the former as more complete in its disciplining effect upon the mind. Science discusses force and motion but says nothing of God, freedom and immortality. She leads us to the tree of knowledge, but not to the tree of Life. History, philosophy, poetry, art, are the sources of that supreme culture in which the ideal of academic method is reached, and the progress of knowledge and the immense increase in the extent and variety of the sciences has only made the need of this distinctive culture the greater. Such culture is possible in this country and must be attained through the college rather than the university. The advantages of smaller colleges in the greater intimacy and influence of instructor on the students are forcibly set forth. The heart must be reached in order to obtain culture. It requires a personal fellowship with the incarnation of truth. To teach well, man's inmost soul must be imbued by a sublime conception of the divine attributes."

The orator at the third anniversary, Professor Julius H. Seelye, of Amherst College, discussed "The Culture Demanded by the Present Age," and affirmed that "the most important thing, the keystone of the arch, the

foundation of the structure of American education, is spiritual education. This should reach to the very depths of the soul, and we should educate the heart as well as the mind."

Orations were not thereafter mentioned for several years, until 1878, when Charles Dudley Warner, then editor of *The Hartford Courant* and later associated with *Harper's New Monthly Magazine,* gave the address. He was not at the time a member of Phi Beta Kappa, but in 1884 was accorded honorary membership by the Alpha of New Hampshire. A large audience assembled at the church for the address, which was, "as might be expected, a polished and scholarly one, and was listened to with the greatest of interest and pleasure."

In 1877, at its ninth anniversary, "A communication was received from the Burlington Alpha, suggesting the matter of making lady graduates of colleges eligible to membership, and the Alpha [Beta intended] directed the secretary to reply that they have no objection."

The Alpha of New Jersey at Rutgers College

After feeble beginnings at New Brunswick, New Jersey, before the Revolutionary War, revival of Queen's College was effected in 1810 by a union with the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Dutch Church, under the presidency of Rev. John H. Livingston. The new name—Rutgers College—adopted in 1825 indicated a purpose to separate the two institutions as soon as the Seminary could provide a building for its own use. In 1864 the Legislature of New Jersey made the trustees of Rutgers College the agency of the State for the conduct of the School of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts, established under the Morrill Act.

The election in 1840 of Abraham Bruyn Hasbrouck brought to the presidency its first layman and member of Phi Beta Kappa. He was followed by Theodore Frelinghuysen, an honorary member of the Alpha of New York, and he in turn by William H. Campbell. In 1866 Jacob Cooper came to Rutgers as professor of the Greek language and literature. Elected to Phi Beta Kappa at Yale, where he graduated in 1852, he became the leader in the movement to obtain a chapter for Rutgers.

An application was prepared and forwarded to the six Alphas on May 26, 1868, as reported in Cooper's diary, but no copy has been preserved. Favorable action was taken at Union, Brown, Harvard, Dartmouth, Bowdoin and Western Reserve. If the application was received at Yale before the anniversary meeting in July, it was not accepted. A classmate of Professor Cooper, Daniel Coit Gilman, then professor of physical and political geography, had been corresponding secretary of the Alpha

for two years. He encouraged the holding of a meeting on October 11, 1886, of which he made this record:

"The report of the last regular meeting is doubtless completed by Mr. Brewster, the Recording Secretary of the class of '68, but has not been entered in the books, owing to some grievous calamity. The present report therefore includes only a special meeting called October 11th to consider a formal request for a chapter from Rutgers College. The meeting was held in Professor Noah Porter's recitation room, the doors and windows having been carefully secured. Prof. Thatcher was appointed Pres. pro tem. and Prof. Gilman acted as Secretary. The chapter was granted with some reluctance, and Prof. Gilman was requested to notify the applicants. Adjourned at nine 45."

Gilman had great satisfaction in informing his classmate, Jacob Cooper, of this favorable action, but he took no steps to prepare a charter. The precedents of 1817, 1824 and 1847, when charters were prepared for Union, Bowdoin and Western Reserve, were disregarded. Instead the Union Chapter sent its president, John A. Lansing, as a commissioner to supervise the organization of the chapter. The consent of six Alphas was deemed sufficient. On February 22, 1869, the applicants with the commissioner from Union and two other members of that chapter, Teunis S. Hamlin and Mathew N. Oliver, students in the Theological Seminary, met in the College Chapel. The minutes read:

"Rev. Dr. Campbell was appointed Chairman, and Prof. Murray, Secretary. Professor Murray on behalf of the applicants presented a copy of the application for a chapter, and also the resolutions authorizing its establishment passed by the Alpha chapters in the other states.

"Whereupon Commissioner Lansing, finding them in due form and satisfactory pronounced, in virtue of the authority vested in him, the Alpha Chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa Society duly constituted and established consisting of the following persons viz,: Rev. Wm. H. Campbell and Prof. Cooper and Murray, and such other persons as they shall associate with them."

Before concluding his visit Commissioner Lansing prepared a certificate of his part in the organization. The register cannot be found, but the certificate was printed in 1891 in the chapter's first catalogue. No similar document exists in Phi Beta Kappa's early history. It reads:

> The undersigned, John A. Lansing, from the Alpha Chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Union College in the State of New York, being regularly and in due form authorized and commissioned thereto:
>
> *Hereby Certifies* that he has examined the authorities by which the seven Alpha Chapters of the Phi Beta Kappa Society have

authorized the establishment of a Chapter of the Society in Rutgers College in the State of New Jersey, and finds that they are in due form and in accordance with the constitution and usages of said Society.

Wherefore by virtue of the authority delegated to me, and in furtherance of the wishes of the said Alpha Chapters by resolution expressed, I hereby authorize and establish a Chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa Society in Rutgers College, and hereby constitute Brothers William H. Campbell and David Murray, of the Alpha Chapter of New York, and Jacob Cooper, of the Alpha Chapter of Connecticut, and such other persons as they may associate with them as said Society, to be known and styled as the

Alpha Chapter of New Jersey.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this twenty-second day of February, in the year eighteen hundred and sixty-nine at the city of New Brunswick, in the State of New Jersey.

John A. Lansing, Commissioner.

All the prominent members of the faculty were soon elected, and selections were made from the classes of 1869 and 1870. The Constitution of the Alpha of New York was adopted, with a set of independent By-laws.

At a meeting held on June 19 Professor Atherton proposed an addition to the by-laws which provided the new chapter with an unusual form of activity:

"VII. The Chapter shall consist of four Divisions,

A. Philology
B. Ethics and Metaphysics
C. Mathematical and Natural Science
D. Political and Social Science and History.

"Each Division shall be organized under a chairman appointed by the President, with authority to subdivide itself into such sections as may be found advisable subject to any revision the chapter may direct.

"VIII. Any question that may be laid over for investigation shall be referred to the Chairman of the Divisions in charge of that subject or class of subjects, and by him assigned to the proper Sections."

Later a fifth division—theology—was added, and the custom of calling for a report of sections was continued for at least fifty years.

In practice the election of students to offices did not prove satisfactory, because not all of them could attend with regularity. The coming of Phi Beta Kappa to the Rutgers campus received slight publicity.

With the opening of the new college year, monthly meetings began, and the question of enlarging the membership was discussed. At first

five prominent graduates living in the city were received, later four professors at the Seminary, and still later all the honor men in earlier classes. The latter were not counted as members until they presented themselves for initiation. Thus the Rutgers chapter came to be an association of professors, with a growing number of citizens of New Brunswick enjoying the fellowship and the stimulus of its meetings.

At the end of fifteen years, one hundred and ninety-three had been welcomed: seventeen as honorary members, nineteen from among the alumni, and one hundred and fifty-four elected in course. Among those taking the science course in the class of 1870 was Taro Kusakabe of Echizen, Japan, possibly the first Japanese to be elected to membership. His health failing, he died in April, two months before commencement and the time set for his initiation. A college mate, William Elliot Griffis, after a year in the Seminary, called to Japan on an important educational mission, was directed to present a Φ B K key to Kusakabe's parents.

The chapter's first catalogue, published in 1891, contains a list of one hundred and seventeen papers by over forty different authors. Another list was printed in the Alpha's fiftieth anniversary booklet, containing two hundred and forty subjects by one hundred and thirty readers.

The chapter had made but one attempt to arrange for an anniversary at commencement with orator or poet—in 1876, when the Society's centennial was observed by an open meeting. The speaker, Cortlandt Parker of the class of 1836, gave the address—"one of the finest addresses we have ever heard," according to the comment in the local paper. The address was published with the title:

"The Open Bible or
Tolerant Christianity the Source and Security of
American Freedom and Power"

It was later discovered that this was the most outstanding celebration of Phi Beta Kappa's centennial.

The Alpha of New Jersey was the last Alpha to be instituted before the Union of the Chapters. There is no record that it was invited to the anniversary and convention at Harvard in 1881; it was represented at the meeting in New York which drafted the constitution of the United Chapters, but it delayed ratification until 1887.

The Gamma of New York at 'City College'

The plan for a Free Academy to be supported by the City of New York received legislative approval in 1848, and in 1866 the new name. The College of the City of New York, supported by a generous appro-

priation, gave the institution promise of development. It was proposed to acquire the site of the reservoir at Fifth Avenue and 42d Street, now occupied by the City Library. Instead a building erected at the corner of Lexington Avenue and 23d Street was used for many years.

Within a year after its organization in 1858, the Beta of New York elected all the members of the faculty of the Free Academy to honorary membership. An application for a charter was made soon thereafter. A second application, forwarded during the winter of 1867 by Richard R. Bowker of the class of 1868, after correspondence with John A. DeRemer, secretary of the Union chapter, is here quoted with the exception of one paragraph:

To the Phi Beta Kappa Fraternity
Through the Alpha of New York
Gentlemen:—

Believing, as we do, that your fraternity wherever it exists has been productive of much good, both in respect to the students who have been admitted within its doors, and the institution with which it is connected, we would respectfully request the establishment of a chapter in the College of the City of New York, and would beg leave to present some few arguments in support of our claim.

Your fraternity being founded solely for the benefit of those high in college scholarship, without regard to any other qualifications, it is necessary only to speak of the present scholarship of the undersigned and of the history, present state and prospects of our Alma Mater.

The college whose claims we would present to your attention was formerly known as the Free Academy of the City of New York, which name was changed by act of Legislature to the present one, May 1st 1866. Soon after, a bill was passed granting under its new name an annual revenue of $125,000 to be levied by tax upon the City of New York, an income which can never fail. Under the provisions of the same act the Trustees were empowered to segregate a suitable piece of land for the erection of new buildings.

This income insures the stability and permanent prosperity of the institution, and gives it a great advantage over most colleges. Neither the immense revenues of Yale, Harvard or Columbia render more certain the abidingness of those institutions than does our income, drawn, as it is, from the foundation of all wealth.

But we possess another advantage which few colleges can boast. The College of the City of New York is a part and the culminating point of the New York public school system, one of the wonders of the New World. Thence is drawn all the material

of the college—a never failing source. Coming from such a system we are sure of well prepared students, the more especially as they are filtered through our Preparatory Department, the Introductory Class, corresponding to the High Schools or Academies of the State at large.

Thus we can never be in want of funds or students. There remains a discussion of the course of studies. From the accompanying Register and other documents you will find that the Classical course is slightly lower, while the scientific course is much higher than in other institutions. On the whole, we can justly claim, we think, as high a general course as any college, certainly one much higher than some.

The institution is a most popular one among the inhabitants of the City and State, and elsewhere, wherever it is known. We have usually from two to three hundred students in college proper, and three to four hundred in the Preparatory Department. The first class graduated in 1853, since when we have graduated an average of nearly forty students, many of whom, though young, are already distinguished in public life. The corps of instructors numbers twenty-five, twelve of whom are full professors and one an Adjunct. The faculty is most excellent. Headed by Horace Webster M.D., LL.D., a well known educator, as President, and Dr. J. C. Owen, one of the finest and best known classical scholars in the country, as Vice [President], it includes the following members of your own Fraternity:—G. B. Docharty, LL.D. of Dublin University; A. J. Morales, LL.D. of the University of Madrid, R. O. Doremus, M.D., of the University of New York.

The undersigned are the first eight students of the Junior (68) and Sophomore (69) classes. If it should please you to grant to us a charter, we would respectfully recommend that the first eight men of the Junior Year be initiated at its close, and the remaining members of the first third of the class, reckoning for the whole four years, be initiated at Commencement. Some years ago a previous application was made from this college, but was refused, we believe from some objections to the then name. Under a misunderstanding, four men were initiated. To them and to the accompanying paper, we refer you as to the truth of our statement.

At a meeting at Union the committee reported that "in its judgement it is the province of the Alpha . . . to form other chapters in the State without consulting the junior chapter or chapters." Whereupon it was

"Resolved that the petition for the establishment of a Phi Beta Kappa Society in the College of the City of New York be granted, and that the

officers of the Society be authorized to make the necessary arrangements to consummate the establishment of a chapter in said institution."

The text of the charter of the Union chapter was found suitable and was therefore transcribed, and carried by Secretary DeRemer to New York for the organization. This text, used on subsequent occasions, is quoted:

THE CHARTER

To President Horace Webster and Professors John J. Owen, Gerardus B. Docharty, Charles E. Anthon, J. Graeff Barton, J. Roemer and A. J. Morales, Brethren of the Phi Beta Kappa, the Alpha of New York sends greeting:

Whereas the New York Alpha of the Phi Beta Kappa by resolution adopted July 24th, 1867, declared it expedient to establish a branch of the Phi Beta Kappa in connection with the College of the City of New York:

Now therefore, by virtue and in pursuance of the aforesaid resolution, we do hereby incorporate and establish you the above named Horace Webster, John J. Owen, Gerardus B. Docharty, Charles E. Anthon, J. Graeff Barton, J. Roemer and A. J. Morales, with such others as you may associate with yourselves, in conformity with the laws of the Phi Beta Kappa herewith transmitted, into a separate and distinct branch of the said society, to be known and called by the name of The Gamma of New York; hereby granting unto you and your successors all the powers, privileges and benefits thereunto appertaining, in as full and ample a manner as we or our Brethren of other States enjoy the same.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto officially set our hands this eighteenth day of December, One thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven, at Schenectady, New York.

The meeting for organization occurred on December 20. Besides the charter members, six others of the faculty were elected.

In elections to membership the Gamma chapter was unusually conservative. It elected three graduates who were members of the faculty, including Adolf Werner of the class of 1857; three members of 1867, who were recent graduates; and eight seniors, including Richard R. Bowker.

With the exception of 1870, when twenty-four alumni were elected, an average of two were admitted each year, and until 1880 an average of only eight seniors were received. These men encouraged in the chapter wider activities, by obtaining anniversary speakers and by giving hearty support to the new organization of Phi Beta Kappa Alumni in New York, and to the proposal for a union of the chapters.

The Delta of New York at Columbia College

After a century on a site near City Hall in lower New York, Columbia College was in 1857 removed to a temporary location at Madison Avenue and 49th Street, with Rev. Charles King as President. In 1864 he asked to be relieved and the trustees chose Frederick A. P. Barnard as his successor. It will be recalled that Barnard had signed the first application for a charter in behalf of the University of the City of New York, and later led in the organization of the Alpha of Alabama. He had recently resigned from the Chancellorship of the University of Mississippi because he did not approve the State's act of secession. A public letter to President Lincoln appealing for the support of all to preserve the Union led to Barnard's election to the presidency of Columbia. He was inaugurated on October 3, 1864.

Barnard found only one member of Phi Beta Kappa on the Columbia faculty. In the course of a few years others were added, and he felt justified in making application for a charter. The application was granted at Union at its annual meeting on June 30, 1868. The minute reads:

"Professor John A. DeRemer presented a petition from President Barnard, Professors Short and Chandler of Columbia College, asking for the establishment of a chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa Society in connection with that College. On motion the petition was granted and the officers of this chapter for the ensuing year were authorized to establish a chapter in accordance with the above petition."

The record of the organization begins: "The New York Delta of Phi Beta Kappa was organized in the President's Room, Columbia College, on Thursday, April 22d, 1869, at a meeting at which were present, Dr. Barnard, Professors Charles Short, Charles F. Chandler, Wendell Lamouroux, and Alexis A. Julien, of Columbia College.

"Dr. Barnard, being called to the chair, stated that the object of the meeting was to receive a charter from the Alpha of New York, and to organize under such charter the Delta Chapter of New York. The charter was then read and, on motion, adopted. The chairman read the constitution, which was also unanimously adopted."

President Barnard was then in his sixtieth year and had before him twenty years of educational leadership. Charles Short was at the beginning of his career, a professor in the School of Mines. He was to continue at Columbia twenty years. Charles F. Chandler had come as professor of chemistry and to found the School of Mines. Wendell Lamouroux taught modern languages, and Alexis A. Julien, the youngest of the group, was a chemist in the faculty of the School of Mines.

At the first meeting eleven members of the faculty and one assistant were elected, in addition to three members of the class of 1869.

At the second meeting, held two weeks later, with all members present, after the charter and constitution had been read by the secretary, the president interpreted to the three members-elect who were present "the symbols used by the Society, gave them the sign manual of brotherhood and initiated them into Φ. B. K."

By its eighth meeting the Delta of New York was fully organized, with four charter members, eleven chosen from the faculty, and fifteen from the class of 1869. At the first meeting of the college year on November 29, four members of the class of 1870, including Seth Low, "being the three highest men in the class in the roll of merit," were elected, and two of them were "presented and duly initiated." For a reason not given Low was not initiated until 1890, after he had been chosen to succeed Dr. Barnard as President of Columbia.

With a growing membership, deeper interest became evident. The first proposal to elect honorary members was made at the May meeting in 1871. Seven were placed in nomination, five being men of distinction from earlier classes. Elections were delayed until the propriety of the policy received approval.

The minutes of this meeting conclude: "The President expressed great pleasure at recognizing an awakening interest in the members as evidenced by the size of the meeting and the eagerness of debate, and was glad to see a gathering so fine, both in numbers and interest."

The question of secrecy came up for discussion at an early meeting. A proposal that it be abolished, since this had been done at Harvard, was laid over; it was adopted several years later. At a later meeting, it was "understood that the Trustees of Columbia College were considering the question of its removal since its present location does not accord with the ideal of the American College, that it neither recalls the noble memories of her past, nor suggests any hope for the future." This prompted the following: "Resolved, That we, the Delta Chapter of New York of the Phi Beta Kappa, respectfully commend to the Trustees of Columbia College its removal to some suitable location beyond the limits of the City of New York."

In March, 1873, President Barnard presented "a communication from Dr. Spencer [whose identity has not been revealed] in the form of a set of resolutions providing for an annual celebration to be given by the combined Delta, Gamma and Beta Chapters of Φ. B. K.—the orator, poet and presiding officer to be held by each chapter in turn."

The chapter also voted hearty concurrence in the desire for a public celebration under the auspices of the combined chapters, but was forced

to defer acting upon these resolutions, having made preparation for a celebration by its own chapter.

In its May, 1875, number *Acta Columbiana* published this communication:

> To the Editor:
>
> The undersigned were appointed a committee to carry the intention of this resolution into effect, and now beg leave to present it through your columns to the consideration of the sister Chapters of the Society. The anniversary will occur on the 5th of December, 1876, and, amid the national celebration, which will rightly be held during that year to commemorate the birth of a great commonwealth in blood and fiery struggle, the foundation of one of the earliest literary societies of the United States, planted in that solemn hour to foster the arts of peace and refining culture, should surely not be suffered to pass unheeded.
>
> We desire to offer no suggestions touching the form of such a celebration, but hold ourselves in readiness to cooperate in any suitable plan, and we hope that the subject will receive the attention of all chapters of the Phi Beta Kappa Society wherever established.
>
> C. M. Nairne
> A. C. Merriam
> Stuyvesant Fish
> A. J. Loder
> A. S. Reed.

It will be noted that this resolution antedated the action taken at Harvard in June of 1875, appointing a committee to "consider the propriety of a celebration of the General Fraternity . . . in the year 1876."

The publication of articles in *Acta Columbiana* and the reception of twenty-four alumni of prominence aroused unusual interest and resulted in a more representative attendance at chapter meetings.

When nothing came of the proposed conference, Willard Bartlett, later a Justice of the State Supreme Court, moved: "That a committee of seven be appointed of which the President shall be ex officio the chairman, to devise and report upon a plan to increase the usefulness of the Society, including the expediency of an annual celebration, and if such a celebration be determined to be expedient, to devise and report a plan for the same."

From the appointment of this committee came a new organization, the Phi Beta Kappa Alumni in New York, having as a purpose the cooperation of the three chapters with other members living in the metro-

politan area. Unfortunately the second proposal, a joint celebration in New York of the Society's centennial, could not be effected.

The Epsilon of New York at Hamilton College

Hamilton College grew out of a school begun in 1797 by Samuel Kirkland, a missionary to the Indians of Central New York, who received his first commission from Eleazar Wheelock, then secretary of the "Honorable Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge." He had prepared for college at Wheelock's School at Lebanon, Conn., and spent some time among the Indians before beginning work at the College of New Jersey, where he received his first degree *in absentia* in 1765. After another year among the Indians, he was ordained to the Christian ministry, and thereafter lived almost continuously among them until his death in 1808, a period of over forty years. In 1769 he had married a niece of Dr. Wheelock, and they made their home among the Oneidas near where Hamilton College was later located. One of their sons, John Thornton Kirkland, made a distinguished record as president of Harvard.

A man of large frame and much bodily vigor, Kirkland endured many hardships. During the War for American Independence he was for a time a chaplain, and did much to dissuade the Six Nations from actively joining the British. His work was recognized by the government. After issuing a pamphlet entitled a "Plan of Education of the Indians, particularly of the Five Nations," he was privileged to plead his case before President Washington, Alexander Hamilton and others.

The interest aroused was such that Hamilton became one of the sixteen trustees when an application for a charter for Hamilton Oneida Academy was presented to the Regents of the University of the State of New York. Favorable action was taken on January 29, 1793, at a meeting at which a similar application was granted for the "Academy of the Town of Schenectady," which later became Union College. After the receipt of a bounty of 4,000 acres and the offer of 300 acres for the school plans were outlined for a building. When the cornerstone was laid on July 1, 1794, the main address was made by Baron Steuben, a Regent who had lately come into the section to occupy land given him by the government, and who presented the charter signed by Governor George Clinton, for whom the village was named.

That was, perhaps, the happiest day in Kirkland's life. He had passed his fifty-second birthday and had lived among the Indians for more than a quarter of a century. He may have hoped that by teaching Indian boys and white boys in the same school, mutual understanding and mutual helpfulness would result, but the response from the Indians was not what

he expected. During the remaining twelve years of his life, Kirkland was to experience many disappointments and to endure many hardships, but the school was filling a real need on the frontier. Five years after his death, the building was completed, the charter for Hamilton College granted, and his dream made real.

Three of the original trustees of Hamilton College were members of Phi Beta Kappa at Yale, and three others were later made members of the Alpha of New York at Union College. Though several of the early presidents of the college were members, no movement was made to obtain a charter until 1869. Samuel Gilman Brown, Dartmouth 1831, was then president. The application came before the anniversary meeting of the Alpha of New York held on June 29, 1869, when John A. DeRemer presented a petition "for the establishment of a Branch of the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Hamilton College, Clinton, Oneida County, New York. On motion the resident officers of this society were authorized to establish a Branch at Hamilton College."

The applicants were compelled to wait nearly a year before the charter arrived. Although no account of the organization of the chapter has been preserved, May 24, 1870, has been wrongly given as its date. The first meeting may have been held shortly after the receipt of the charter, or it may have been delayed until near commencement.

The catalogue of the chapter reveals that several members of the faculty were admitted to honorary membership, and also six graduates whose work for the chapter and the College proved of marked importance. Among them were Oren Root, 1833, who was professor of mathematics from 1849 to 1881; Edward North, 1841, who two years later began serving as professor of Greek, in which position he continued fifty-eight years, until 1891; and Albert Grosvenor Hopkins, who was professor of Latin from 1869 to 1899.

The direction of the chapter was committed to men without experience in Phi Beta Kappa affairs. In the constitution they prepared were the ancient provisions for disputes at regular meetings, two in writing and two in extemporaneous debate, with a judge of composition to "report on the merits of each essay at the meeting next after its reading"; but as meetings were few, and as student elections came shortly before commencements, these provisions were inoperative.

The secretaries during the chapter's first five years failed to make permanent records. Secretary North introduced a new method of recording members by having the initiates affix their signatures on a page opposite that on which their reception was recorded. The average number of senior elections for a decade was thirteen. Only a few alumni and honorary members were received until 1890, when an unusually generous selec-

tion was made. An early alumnus member was Elihu Root, 1864, whose services to college and country were of great distinction.

The Zeta of New York at Hobart College

Hobart College dates from 1825, when on a petition of the Trustees, Geneva Academy, incorporated in 1813, was raised to college rank by the Regents of the University of the State of New York. Early in August, 1826, six men received A.B. degrees, and all entered the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church. In 1852 the leadership of John Henry Hobart, Bishop of New York, was recognized, and the name was changed to Hobart Free College and eight years later to Hobart College. It has remained loyal to its early affiliations, but its charter provided that "no ordinance, rule or order of the trustees should extend to exclude any person of any religious denomination whatever from equal liberty and advantages of education, or any of the degrees, liberties, privileges, benefits, or immunities of said college, on account of his particular tenets in religion."

The transfer in 1868 of Professor Hamilton Lamphere Smith from Kenyon College to Hobart as professor of natural philosophy and astronomy, and the election of Professor Maunsell Van Rensselaer to the presidency of the College, led to a discussion of the possibility of obtaining a Phi Beta Kappa charter. The application is not extant, but the minutes at Union dated June 27, 1871, read:

"A petition signed by . . . was received asking that a chapter of this Society be established at Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. On motion of John A. DeRemer the petition was granted, and the officers of this society authorized to establish a chapter at said college."

Only a few days later Dr. Van Rensselaer reported . . . "that he had presented the memorial of the resident members and faculty of the College to the Alpha of New York, . . . that the petition had been cordially granted and that Vice President DeRemer and Professor Stanton had been delegated to inaugurate the chapter."

Monday, July 10, was selected for the organization. On that evening Professor DeRemer appeared, bearing a charter duly signed and a copy of the ancient constitution of the Alpha of New York. The formal organization of the chapter followed, under his guidance.

The charter was copied in the records and then allowed to disappear. It is similar to that authorizing the Gamma at the College of the City of New York. It incorporated those whose names appear therein together "with such others as you may associate with yourselves in conformity with the laws of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, to be known and called by

the name of the Zeta of New York, hereby granting unto you and your successors all the powers, privileges, and benefits thereunto appertaining, in as full and ample a manner as we enjoy the same."

Thus within a month after the formal presentation of an application for a charter the Zeta of New York was fully organized. DeRemer withdrew with the assurance that at a meeting to be held during commencement week the work of the year would be completed. Although there was no rule making initiation essential to membership, all who presented themselves were formally received. All of the thirty-five alumni elected during the first year were listed, though some may never have been initiated. Adding to these the five honorary members and four seniors, the six charter members had associated with themselves forty-four, making fifty members in all.

The coming to Hobart College in 1871 of Francis Philip Nash, Harvard '56, as professor of Latin, strengthened the chapter. Due to frail health he had left his law practice in New York and accepted a professorship at Hobart. In 1876 he resigned and devoted himself largely to the study of languages, preparing a translation of the Book of Common Prayer into Italian for use in missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Professor Nash's loyalty to the chapter did not cease. In 1880 he accepted an invitation to be orator at the anniversary and spoke on "The Mission of American Colleges and the relation of Phi Beta Kappa to that Subject."

He asserted that "If the Phi Beta Kappa Society will wake out of her slumber and will grapple in right earnest with the educational problems of the day, she will soon accustom the public . . . to look upon her as a living force and listen reverently and obediently to her teaching," and suggested such "an improvement in the organization of the Society as will facilitate common discussion of living questions." There was need, he said, of a national council, and "general conventions should be sufficiently frequent to attract and fix public attention upon the deliberations and labors of the Society."

When the chapter was invited in 1881 to send delegates to the centennial of the Alpha of Massachusetts at Harvard, and to its first Phi Beta Kappa convention to be held in Cambridge, he was chosen as its most suitable representative.

The Eta of New York at Madison University

Four years after the organization of the chapter at Hobart College, the Alpha of New York at Union College received an application from Madison University at Hamilton, which in 1890 became Colgate University in recognition of generous aid from members of the Colgate family.

Madison University had its inception in the decision of members of Baptist churches in Hamilton and vicinity that an institution of higher learning was essential to the progress of the denomination. The Baptist Theological Seminary, organized in New York in 1817, accepted Hamilton as a central location, and in 1820 a school was opened there under the Baptist Educational Society's charter. This grew until 1846, when a charter for Madison University was granted by the Regents of the State of New York. Preparatory, collegiate and theological courses were offered for a time, but gradually the three schools were separated.

Ebenezer Dodge became president in 1868 and invited several members of Phi Beta Kappa to join the faculty. Naturally the question of a charter soon came up. John J. Lewis, made an alumnus member at Hamilton College in 1870, is credited with preparing the application, obtaining signatures of his colleagues, and forwarding it to the Union College chapter. It received prompt approval.

The granting of the petition should have been reported promptly, but its sponsors were left in ignorance for nearly three years. The delinquent secretary at Union wrote to President Dodge in May, 1878, stating that "some time since . . . the resident officers of the chapter have been authorized to establish the chapter," and naïvely concluded: "If you still wish to have the chapter established, will you please correspond with John A. DeRemer, Vice President of the Alpha Chapter as to time, etc."

Arrangements were soon completed for the presentation of the charter. The record is quoted:

"Hamilton, N. Y., June 12, 1878.

"The Φ B. K. of the State of N. Y. having resolved to incorporate, at Madison University, a Chapter of the Φ B. K. to be known as the H of N. Y., and having sent its Vice-President, J. A. DeRemer, A.M., and its Treasurer, Cady Staley, A.M., to the said University, with a Charter addressed to Rev. Ebenezer Dodge, Rev. William H. Maynard, Rev. John James Lewis, Rev. Sylvester Burnham, and Rev. Edward Judson, the aforesaid Ebenezer Dodge, William H. Maynard, John James Lewis, and Sylvester Burnham met, on this date, the Committee of the A, at the home of President Dodge, received from them the Charter, and were by them thus incorporated as the H. of N. Y."

In the modified form of initiation the members-elect were introduced by the treasurer and addressed by the president, who inquired if they would consent to observe the constitution and laws of the society. Receiving their assurance, he explained "the medal according to his discretion," and made "such other remarks as he deemed advisable, closing thus:

"Gentlemen: We have now the pleasure to recognize you as brethren.

Such is the relation in which the members of the Φ B K Society are taught to regard each other. The great objects of our association are the cultivation of the Social Affections, and advancement in literature. Pursuing these ends, our sister Societies in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Maine and Rhode Island, have rendered honorable the appellation of Φ B K. We charge you never to sully this well-merited reputation. Let our new relations incite you to diligence in the acquisition of knowledge and the cultivation of the social virtues. Let it be a stimulus to an honorable emulation while we have the pleasure of meeting together; and let it always constitute a strong bond of union when we are separated by our several stations of life."

Yale and Western Reserve Chapters Inactive

While the Alpha of New York was busily engaged increasing the number of branches in its State, the Alphas of Connecticut and Ohio were deteriorating.

At Yale, after the change of methods in 1846, the Alpha held anniversary meetings, though with lessening interest, until 1871. Meetings were not resumed until after the union of the chapters. If the suspension of the chapter's activities was formally reported to other chapters, no record of it has been found. The fact was noted in a report at Harvard in July, 1880, which said, "with the recent extinction of the chapter at Yale, the Harvard Alpha became the parent Alpha," and might therefore grant applications for charters from any State.

Because of this interruption of its activities, the Yale branch had no part in the movement which led to the union of the chapters. The book of records has not been preserved, but we are able to get some facts and impressions from two sources: *Yale College, a Sketch of its History,* edited by William L. Kingsley, 1870, the chapter, "The Phi Beta Kappa Society" by Lewis R. Packard, and *Four Years at Yale,* published anonymously in 1870. It was later discovered that the author was Lyman H. Bagg. Of special interest is the concluding paragraph by Professor Packard: "About the year 1843 it became impossible to continue the frequent meetings with literary exercises, and after one or two attempts to revive the Society by different plans, it narrowed its activity to annual meetings for the election of new members and of an orator and poet for Commencement Week. Thus this feature, which did not belong to the original scheme of the Society at all, and was introduced hesitatingly at first by connecting public exercises with an anniversary meeting, survived all the rest and continued, constituting the sole life of the Society for more than twenty years. The last oration under its invitation was deliv-

ered in 1870, and the last poem in 1871. Since that time the annual election of undergraduate members has also been given up, and so the Society has become extinct at Yale. During all or nearly all of its existence, it had two features peculiar to itself, viz., that its members were selected largely on the ground of excellence in scholarship, and that its officers, or most of them, were always graduates."

The statement by Lyman Bagg is less favorable. Though not a member, he was given access to the archives, and was the first to reveal the culprits who stole the records in 1786. He also quoted passages from Avery Allyn's "Key to the Phi Beta Kappa," and asserted that after regular literary meetings had ceased membership was less highly regarded.

"For a dozen years or more past the sight of a Phi Beta Kappa key would raise a cry of derision. The last Yale Senior who once or twice ventured to expose such a thing to the gaze of the Populace belonged to the class of '67.

"In short Phi Beta Kappa is, always and everywhere, a mere official compliment paid by the faculty to high scholarship. Its key, or the right to wear it, is simply a medal, or reward of merit certifying that the owner ranks with the first third of the class. This fiction, myth, abstraction, pious fraud, or what not is naturally the object of much merriment at Yale. . . . Such are the sarcastic and derisive utterances now heard in regard to that venerable fraternity which, almost a century ago, started out upon its mission of inculcating the doctrine that 'Philosophy is the guide of Life.' "

Bagg alludes humorously to depleted finances, which made it necessary for professors to make up deficits resulting from the publication of orations and poems. Hence in 1870 there was no election of "substitute" orator and poet to serve in 1872, and no further elections to membership.

In the fall of 1883 Selden P. Spencer, a junior at Yale, later professor in Washington University, St. Louis, and United States Senator from Missouri, proposed to his fellow "Philosophical Orations" classmates, that the Phi Beta Kappa chapter be revived. They learned that the charter had not lapsed since the chapter had not been formally disbanded. Accordingly they announced a meeting to which all Phi Beta Kappa members of the faculty and in the city were invited. It was decided to resume activities. The chapter reorganized, the officers proceeded to elect the ten men of the class of 1884 of philosophical oration standing, and to arrange for subsequent meetings. Later other members of the class were elected—twenty-five in all from a class of one hundred and fifty-two. Later, in order to preserve historic continuity, all the graduates in classes from 1871 to 1884, eligible under the rules in force at the earlier date, were

elected and their names appear under their respective classes in all catalogues thereafter published. In 1886 the chapter adopted the constitution of the United Chapters and was promptly accepted by the National Council.

At Western Reserve financial and other difficulties led in 1880 to the proposal to remove the institution to Cleveland, where it would be in close association with its department of medicine. The academic department was named Adelbert College at the request of Amasa Stone, its most liberal benefactor, in memory of his son, who had been drowned during his second year in the Sheffield Scientific School at Yale. Later the Flora Stone Mather College for Women became a part of the Western Reserve University. The removal was encouraged by the Rev. Hiram C. Haydn, a graduate of Amherst and member of the chapter there, at the time a Trustee, and minister of the First Presbyterian Church of Cleveland. Later, while continuing his pastorate, he served as president three years, until succeeded in 1890 by the Rev. Dr. Charles F. Thwing, of the Harvard chapter.

Before and during the removal the Alpha of Ohio was inactive for several periods, but since its revival at Cleveland in 1884 it has been the leading chapter in Ohio. For a time it was known as the Adelbert Chapter, but the original name, Western Reserve, has come into general use. It joined the Union in 1889.

The Theta of New York at Cornell University

When the Morrill Act was passed in 1862, the State of New York, under the leadership of Andrew D. White and Ezra Cornell, members of the State Senate, expressed a purpose to establish a School of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts at a new institution in the founding of which they were interested. Ezra Cornell gave liberally to the university and the new institution was against his wishes given his name. Its charter provided for teaching not only agriculture, the mechanic arts, and related subjects, but also such other branches of science and knowledge as the trustees deemed useful and proper.

Dr. Andrew D. White was persuaded to accept the presidency of the new university. In his opening address he "pledged the University to a policy which should unite liberal and practical education, and should establish a perfect equality among widely different courses of study; . . . to a policy of unsectarian education, to a true and courageous study of science, to a firm adherence to truth."

If a duplicate of the communication to Harvard in 1869 went to Yale, it met with no encouragement, for the leaders there were about to sus-

pend activities. The record at Harvard is brief. The secretary wrote on July 29, 1869: "A vote was passed expressing a willingness on the part of this chapter of the Φ B K that a chapter should be established at Cornell University."

This attitude was duly reported to the applicants at Cornell. An incorrect report, however, reached Union; for at the annual meeting a year later, in 1870, the question was raised, and "The Hon. William W. Campbell, John A. DeRemer and Charles E. Patterson were appointed a committee to investigate the alleged establishment of a chapter of this society at Cornell University by the Phi Beta Kappa of Harvard." The ensuing discussion respecting the location of responsibility and authority for the granting of charters was a factor in the decision to call the convention of 1881, out of which came the uniting of the chapters in 1883.

Because the group at Cornell failed to send a request to Union, the charter was delayed for ten years. Not until June 28, 1880, was an application presented to the Alpha of New York. A copy of the application has been preserved at Cornell, dated March 5, 1880, and addressed "To the Members of the Phi Beta Kappa Society in Union College." It reads:

"The undersigned, brethren of the Phi Beta Kappa Fraternity, would respectfully apply to you as the Alpha of New York State for a charter to be granted to them on behalf of the Cornell University.

"From their position as members of the Faculty of that Institution they feel able to guarantee that the principles of the Fraternity at large will suffer no change, and they trust that its interests may be advanced by such a grant,

Respectfully submitted—
Andrew D. White, Yale 1853
Isaac Flagg, Harvard 1864
James E. Oliver, Harvard 1849
Tracy Peck, Yale 1861
William R. Perkins, Western Reserve 1868
Charles C. Shackford, Harvard 1835
Lucien A. Wait, Harvard 1870
Horatio S. White, Harvard 1873"

The application was unanimously approved, but three years passed before the chapter was organized. The secretary of the Union chapter wrote to Professor Flagg, signer of the petition, and received a postal card saying that the signers of the petition were so scattered, and that it was now so late in the year, that they wished no action to be taken in the matter until next year.

Professor Flagg had not reported the action of the Union chapter to Professor White, secretary for the Cornell applicants, so Professor White became anxious and wrote to Professor Potter at Union, who held the letter until the next annual meeting. Thus a year passed before the officers knew that there was anxiety at Cornell and that an appeal had been sent to Harvard. The notification of this appeal came to Union in a letter written to Secretary Featherstonhaugh by Professor Flagg dated Paris, June 26, 1881, which reads in part: "In June 1880 I wrote to the President of your Chapter [Dr. Potter], inquiring what action, if any, had been taken. No reply of any kind having arrived up to the end of May 1881 we decided to address ourselves in June to the Harvard Chapter which had already [in 1879] promised us a charter in case Union refused."

This drew a prompt response, in which Featherstonhaugh told of the receipt of the postal card, with its suggestion of delay, of the letter asking that the chapter should be founded "at once," which "President Potter who had no business with it," kept in his possession until the annual meeting on June 21, and regretted that any "hard feelings" had resulted. The letter concluded: "Harvard College had no authority whatever to found a chapter anywhere. The Constitution provides that all the Alpha chapters shall concur in the foundation of a new branch. This, however, of late years has been tacitly construed that the Alpha of each State shall have jurisdiction in this matter over its own State.

"You can see the confusion that could and would be produced if any chapter could found a branch anywhere and I hope you will not find it necessary to threaten us with Harvard again. We stand ready, whenever we are notified, to establish your chapter."

To clarify the situation further John A. DeRemer, the new president of the Union chapter, wrote to Professor H. S. White, following his attendance upon the convention at Harvard, stating:

"In order that we may not be guilty of any acts of discourtesy in the future, I take occasion to advise you, as I have already advised Prof. Shackford by letter, and orally at Harvard University at the late commencement, that upon being advised by the petitioners at Cornell, that they are ready to be constituted into a chapter I will confer with them, appoint a time mutually convenient, and in conjunction with other officers of our chapter, go to Cornell and establish you as a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa.

"I think when the situation is fully understood you will not be disposed to charge our chapter with any lack of courtesy. At any rate I am not disposed personally to plead guilty of any such charge."

It thus becomes evident that the cause of the delay was the failure

to appoint one of the applicants as correspondent with full responsibility. Hence the chapter at Cornell was not instituted until May, 1882, almost two years after the convention.

The first public announcement of the organization appeared in *The Cornell Sun,* June 15, 1882:

"We are authorized to state that the efforts which have recently been made to obtain a charter of the Phi Beta Kappa Society for Cornell University have been successful, but that it will probably not be practicable to complete the organization of the chapter the present term.

"The Society is a purely literary one, and the membership among college students has usually been confined to those taking a full classical course. It has been resolved however that at Cornell the rule shall be extended so as to include students from courses in which Latin only is required. The general standard for admission is to be high scholarship united with good character; and with certain restrictions the alumni of Cornell will also be eligible for honorary election."

According to the preamble of the constitution, "The object of this Society is the promotion of literature and friendly intercourse among scholars. Its name is *Phi Beta Kappa*; its motto is intended to indicate that Philosophy (which is understood to include Religion as well as Ethics) is worthy of cultivation as the guide of life."

High scholarship, with a generally good character was stated as the "ground of election," and the question of sex was not to enter into a consideration of the qualifications for membership. Greek and Latin courses, however, or at least Latin through the first two years, must be taken, though their number was not specified. Only ten undergraduates could be chosen from any one class, and of these not more than five in the junior year. Such elections were to be held during the month of May each year at regular meetings and by unanimous consent expressed by ballot, when two negative votes should "exclude." At the admission of members no injunction of secrecy was imposed, and no ceremonies of initiation were required.

Thus a chapter was established entirely under the control of the faculty so far as membership was concerned. The Harvard plan of an immediate society having authority to select undergraduates was entirely discarded. The omission of a ceremony of initiation would seem strange to members of the Union chapter, for there its early form was still used.

The Theta of New York at Cornell, the twenty-fifth in the order of chapters, was the first to be instituted in Phi Beta Kappa's second century. As it preceded the uniting of the chapters, it belongs to the Era of Beginnings. The list is here given:

Alpha of Virginia Inactive January 6, 1781 to June 25, 1851, and from 1861 to December 9, 1893.	College of William and Mary	December 5, 1776
Alpha of Connecticut Inactive 1871-1884.	Yale College	November 13, 1780
Alpha of Massachusetts	Harvard College	September 5, 1781
Alpha of New Hampshire	Dartmouth College	August 20, 1787
Alpha of New York	Union College	July 22, 1817
Alpha of Maine	Bowdoin College	February 22, 1825
Alpha of Rhode Island	Brown University	July 21, 1830
Beta of Connecticut	Trinity College	July 2, 1845
Gamma of Connecticut	Wesleyan University	July 7, 1845
Alpha of Ohio Inactive several times before 1884.	Western Reserve College	October 28, 1847
Alpha of Vermont	University of Vermont	March 7, 1849
Alpha of Alabama Inactive 1861–1912	University of Alabama	July 14, 1851
Beta of Massachusetts	Amherst College	August 9, 1853
Beta of Ohio	Kenyon College	June 29, 1858
Beta of New York	New York University	December 23, 1858
Gamma of Ohio	Marietta College	June 9, 1860
Gamma of Massachusetts	Williams College	July 30, 1864
Gamma of New York	College of the City of New York	July 24, 1867
Beta of Vermont	Middlebury College	August 17, 1868
Alpha of New Jersey	Rutgers College	February 22, 1869
Delta of New York	Columbia College	April 22, 1869
Epsilon of New York	Hamilton College	1870
Zeta of New York	Hobart College	July 6, 1871
Eta of New York	Madison [Colgate] University	June 19, 1873
Theta of New York	Cornell University	May 28, 1882

Women Admitted to Membership

The Alpha of Vermont had remained one of the smaller chapters of the Fraternity because the University had not grown appreciably in numbers, and the number eligible in each class did not increase. During the Civil War a son of Vermont, Justin S. Morrill, then a representative in Congress, became the author of an act for the benefit of "agriculture and the Mechanic Arts," in the several States by allotting to each certain public lands as initial endowment. This bill, signed by President Lincoln

in July, 1862, did much to encourage the building of strong universities, especially in the newer states of the Middle and Far West. The legislature of Vermont accepted the Morrill Act by chartering in 1865 the Vermont Agricultural College without providing sufficient funds. To save the congressional grant to the State, the Agricultural College was incorporated with the University, the latter contributing its buildings, funds, library and other collections, and the good will accruing from its sixty-five years of service. The same faculty continued the old classical course and conducted the new courses in agriculture, engineering, and modern languages.

Many of the university's alumni distrusted the new union. Many preferred a separate school for the teaching of practical farming. But under the leadership of President James Burrill Angell and his successor Matthew H. Buckham the problem was worked through with fair success. President Buckham was inaugurated on August 2, 1871, a day after the trustees had voted to admit women to all courses in the academic and scientific departments. Two young women entered in the spring of 1872 and it became evident that they would come to their graduation with honor rank.

The question of the eligibility of women to Phi Beta Kappa was first formally presented on July 13, 1875. The register "made a statement of the standing of the graduating class," two women being named among the four who might be elected from a class of eleven. Professor Selim H. Peabody moved that persons eligible on the ground of scholarship be admitted to membership without regard to sex. The motion was tabled. Following the discussion came the election of two men, Alfred Nathaniel Taggert and Frank Edward Woodruff, and the adoption of the following, offered by Professor R. D. Benedict:

"Resolved: That in the opinion of this chapter all the graduates of this University should be eligible to membership in Φ B K without distinction of sex.

"Resolved: That the Corresponding Secretary be directed to communicate the action of this chapter and a statement of the situation which occasioned it to the other chapters of the order."

At a meeting next morning, this motion was taken from the table and passed by unanimous vote. Ellen Eliza Hamilton and Lida Mason were duly elected by ballot. The momentous question was decided. The two men were initiated without waiting for a joint ceremony. The reception of the women was set for five o'clock "at the Parlors of the American Hotel."

The register records: "The Society met, Professor Peabody being in the

Chair. The two ladies elected in the morning were introduced to the Society by the Register, and in due form initiated."

The two young men were interested participants, and the token of salutation in "the form of shaking hands peculiar to the Phi Beta Kappa" was given with some cordiality, for some years later Frank Edward Woodruff and Ellen Eliza Hamilton became husband and wife.

To avoid the possibility of a misunderstanding, the secretary was directed to inform the other chapters of the action. The only evidence that this was done is in the minutes of the meeting at Harvard June 28, 1877, nearly two years later: "A communication was read from the Corresponding Secretary of the Φ B K Alpha of Vermont, stating that whereas young women were now admitted to the University of Vermont on the same terms as young men; it has been resolved by that chapter that 'all graduates of the University should be eligible to membership in the Φ B K without distinction of sex.' No action was taken on this communication."

At Wesleyan women had been admitted in 1872. They had come in gradually increasing numbers. The communication from Burlington had a more prompt response at Middletown than at Cambridge, for in May, 1876, a committee was appointed "to consider whether women can be constitutionally elected to Phi Beta Kappa," with instructions to report at the next meeting. The committee reported in June "that a majority of its members consider the election of women to the Society constitutional and not out of accordance with proper comity to other chapters. Whereupon it was resolved that in the judgement of this chapter women are eligible to membership on the same conditions as men."

So it happened that on the very first occasions on which the subject was raised, the decision favored the women. No woman's voice had been heard demanding admission. A Society with a tradition of male membership nearly a century old might well have held to the practice of the past. Some voices were at first raised for such conservatism, but the liberal attitude prevailed.

In no other chapter was the question of membership for women brought up prior to the convention at Cambridge in 1881. The records of the convention are silent on the subject, but one delegate, Joseph Ullman, in a memorandum dated November 26, 1919, wrote: "My recollection is that applications for charters were received from several colleges, and one or more of these from coeducational institutions, I well remember, raised the question of the right of chapters to admit women as members. Though most of us were not inclined to feminism (the word was not, I believe, known then), it seemed only fair to us that, if women were students on an equal basis with men and won their rank on an equal

level, they should be made sisters in Φ B K, and so it was decided after extensive debates."

A year later, when the charter members at Cornell were deciding on their constitution, they stated that the question of sex should not enter into a consideration of the candidates for membership.

Thus the principle became established before the constitution of the United Chapters was adopted, and was not thereafter questioned. During the years before the first National Council, the Alpha of Vermont elected twelve women from nine classes; Wesleyan, nine from eight classes, and Cornell five; there were twenty-six women members when the United Chapters took over the direction of Phi Beta Kappa affairs.

CHAPTER VII

The Uniting of the Chapters: 1876-1883

The Φ B K Alumni in New York

AFTER THE ORGANIZATION of the Gamma of New York at City College in 1867, and the Delta at Columbia two years later, there were three chapters of the Society in one city. The proximity of the three institutions encouraged a common interest in higher education. New York University had shown its friendly feeling toward the City College by electing to honorary membership in Phi Beta Kappa the members of the faculty, three of whom were graduates of Columbia. The first steps toward closer cooperation were taken by a proposal in 1873 for the three chapters to arrange for annual public occasions in rotation. This was followed by a proposal for a joint celebration of the Society's centennial. Then at a meeting held on March 15, 1877, a member of the Columbia chapter moved for the appointment of a committee to consider "a plan of making the Society more useful to its members." The conclusion was finally reached that the best means for increasing the local usefulness of the Society would be an association of the Φ B K alumni of the various colleges of the United States.

"It was determined that each member should suggest the formation of such an alumni association to some Φ B K man of his acquaintance, from a college other than our own, who should be invited to meet with us if he favored the project. This was done, and when we next met, our number was doubled by the presence of the gentlemen so invited. These in turn invited others to meetings subsequently held, until at last there was a gathering of from thirty to forty men representing perhaps a dozen different colleges. The proposed organization was fully discussed, and it was at once unanimously resolved to form an association of Φ B K alumni in New York and its vicinity, for the purpose of promoting the objects of the Φ B K Society itself as those objects are set forth in its fundamental law. A constitution was drafted, debated, and adopted, and the association was definitely organized on April 28, last. The president of our own chapter was unanimously chosen its first president.

"In the 6th instant [June, 1877] it gave a reception at Delmonico's to the resident members of the Society at large, to which it is believed every member of this chapter was invited. The success of that reception

both in the number, and prominence of those who attended it, as well as the earnestness, enthusiasm, and faith in the success of our effort, manifested not only by those who addressed us, but also in common conversation about the room promise well for the future of the Φ *B K Alumni in New York.* . . . The Sec'y is Mr. Ernest H. Crosby of the University of the City of New York. . . . The number of persons already enrolled is about one hundred, representing all the important colleges in the eastern part of the U. S., and the organization already shows a vitality, coherence and potentiality of growth, and influence, for which its founders at first hardly ventured to hope."

This report, presented to the Columbia chapter at its commencement meeting, was accepted. The constitution of the new association provided for an executive committee of six members, three elected each year for terms of two years. These with the officers formed a council which was charged with the duty of arranging for meetings and promoting the welfare of the association. The primacy that had attached to the early Alphas was disregarded. Representatives of Harvard, Union and Bowdoin were given no precedence. The principle of chapter equality as enunciated at Yale in 1839 was then for the first time given full recognition.

The First Φ B K Convention

Phi Beta Kappa had been active for almost a century without a convention and with scant attention to its history. Much that had been written respecting it has been quoted in earlier chapters of this book. In 1875 a committee was named by the Harvard chapter "to consider the propriety of a celebration of the General Fraternity of the Phi Beta Kappa in the year 1876, in view of the fact of that being the centennial year of the foundation of the original chapter in this country at the College of William and Mary." The time proved too short and no celebration was arranged, so the centennial year passed at Harvard with only casual reference. The Rutgers chapter alone held centennial exercises.

It had required a pressing need and some years of study to make the advantages of a convention really emphatically evident. A leader in the movement was Dr. Edward Everett Hale, then minister of a church in Boston, who served as vice-president of the Harvard Alpha from 1871 to 1874, and as president the two succeeding years. He learned of the inactivity at Yale, and believed that this gave the Chapter at Harvard responsibilities as the oldest scyon. Aware of several applications for charters, he studied the constitution and practices, and became aware that rules in the matter were very indefinite. For two developments he became responsible. He wrote the first real history of the Society, pub-

lished in *The Atlantic Monthly* of July, 1879, under the title "A Fossil from the Tertiary," and a year later was appointed chairman of a committee authorized to invite the chapters to send delegates to the Centennial Anniversary of the Chapter, to be held June 30, 1881, and to a Society Convention to precede the Anniversary exercises. Only one copy of the formal invitation, dated May 6, 1881, has been discovered, that addressed to "the Officers and members of Phi Beta Kappa, Alpha of Rhode Island." It reads:

> The Harvard Alpha of Phi Beta Kappa which is now the oldest active Alpha, will celebrate the centennial of its Foundation on the anniversary meeting, at Cambridge, on Thursday, the 30th of June next.
>
> We hope for the presence with us on that occasion of delegates from all the scyons of the society, and have been appointed by our Alpha to invite you to join with us on that occasion by such delegation.
>
> We are instructed by a vote of the Alpha to ask you to give such power to your delegates, that the assembly of delegates may act as a convention of Phi Beta Kappa, to determine on any changes which may be necessary in the Constitution of the Fraternity. This convention will meet accordingly in Cambridge, at 9 A.M. at the Art Room, Gore Hall.
>
> We venture to suggest, that if your scyon hold no meeting before the day named, the officers have full power, under your charter, to name such a delegation; and we request your Executive Committee to take order regarding a delegation that a full representation of the whole Fraternity may be assured.
>
> The scyons which have already named delegates have appointed five each. We suppose each scyon will throw one vote in convention. But we suggest a delegation of five as a convenient number.
>
> Please give us as early notice as possible of your action on this subject.
>
> We are affectionately yours in Phi Beta Kappa.
>
> Edward E. Hale
> Frederick A. Hedge
> E. Rockwood Hoar
> Alexander McKenzie
> Justin Winsor

This was primarily an invitation to the centennial of the Alpha at Harvard, but no information was given respecting the centennial exercises, or the dinner that was to follow. The committee evidently relied on the reputation of Phi Beta Kappa anniversaries at Harvard to make its

own appeal. In his *Atlantic Monthly* article Doctor Hale had stated: "The annual oration is wise, the annual poem is sometimes poetical, and the dinner is always the jolliest occasion of the Cambridge year." He observed further:

"For nearly half a century it was the only society in America which could pretend to be devoted to literature and philosophy. And it happened, therefore, that, in the infant literature of the nation, some noteworthy steps are marked by orations and poems delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa. Such was Paine's poem on 'The Ruling Passion,' famous in its day. The young *literati* of the country rejoiced when they heard that for the sale of this poem Paine had received twelve hundred dollars. For *The Invention of Letters,* a poem delivered before Washington at Commencement, Paine received fifteen hundred dollars. Even in our silver age, most Phi Beta poets would consider this pretty good pay."

The convention assembled in Gore Hall and was called to order by Edward Everett Hale. Mellen Chamberlain, Librarian of the Boston Public Library, was chosen chairman; and Justin Winsor, Librarian of Harvard, secretary. Fifty-six members had been delegated by twelve chapters, but our only report states that six Alphas and six other branches were represented by twenty-nine delegates. Of formal minutes, none has been found. Secretary Winsor printed a record of the convention in the October number of *The Harvard University Bulletin* under "University Notes." So far as is now known only the delegation from Brown made a written report to its chapter. Several delegates later wrote of the occasion, and extracts from their letters were published in Volume IV of *The Phi Beta Kappa Key,* in an article which discussed the convention and the centennial exercises.

The primary subject was brought forward by Professor Francis P. Nash, the delegate from Hobart, in a preamble and resolutions:

"Whereas the Phi Beta Kappa Society has not hitherto exerted upon the intellectual life of America an influence commensurate to its true and legitimate importance, having been precluded therefrom by the lack of any regular method of ascertaining and expressing the views of the Society as a whole;

"And whereas it is highly desirable that a voice and utterance should be given to the collective learning, wisdom, and experience of the Society in order that the Society may obtain that influence and moral power which legitimately belong to it;

"And whereas this object cannot otherwise be attained than by entrusting the expression of the opinions of this Society to some sufficient representative body delegated by the several chapters; therefore,

"*Resolved,* That this Convention do hereby earnestly recommend to

all chapters of the Phi Beta Kappa Society to choose delegates to the number of three for each chapter of the Society, to meet together at on the day of....., 1881, and from day to day thereafter, who when thus assembled shall constitute the National Council of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, and shall have power to express the opinion and sentiment of this Society upon all such questions as may from time to time be presented to said Council for consideration.

"*Resolved,* That the chairman of this present Convention appoint ten members thereof, who with the said chairman shall constitute a standing Committee to draw up a project of a constitution for the said National Council, and to prepare such other material for the deliberations thereof as may suggest itself to said Standing Committee. And five members of said Standing Committee shall constitute a Quorum thereof for the transaction of business; *Provided,* that said Standing Committee may add to its own body from time to time any member or members of the Society not exceeding ten additional members, and shall also have power to fill any vacancies occasioned by death, resignation, or non-acceptance of persons thereto chosen or appointed."

These recommendations indicate that Professor Nash had come to entertain a clear conception of what the situation required. In principle his proposal was accepted. Then John A. DeRemer of Union, whose experience in the organization of new chapters was broader than that of any other member, offered three resolutions as amendments to, or more properly as substitutes for, the concluding resolution proposed by Professor Nash,

"That the committee consist of one from each chapter here represented to be named by the delegates here present; and that each committee-man, if unable to attend, may designate a substitute.

"That the committee meet at the Council room of the University of the City of New York on the 18th day of October, 1881, at ten o'clock, A.M.

"That the Secretary of the meeting communicate with the Secretary of each chapter not represented, requesting said chapter to elect and send a representative to the committee at its meeting in New York City on the 18th day of October next."

This proposed arrangement proved so satisfactory that the amendments were adopted, and the resolutions thus amended were passed.

Dr. Hale presented a copy of the charter of the Western Reserve chapter as approved by the chapter at Harvard, and recommended it for adoption as a form of charter for all future issues. The question was referred to the Convention to be held in New York. The resolutions that had been adopted at Harvard were then read and referred to the consideration of the National Council in New York.

These phrases indicate that all confusion of thought had not been overcome, for the meeting in New York was not to be of a convention or a national council, as proposed by Professor Nash, but of a committee that should prepare a constitution which might include provision for such a council.

The record of the meeting concludes:

"The delegates attended next the annual meeting of the Harvard chapter in Boylston Hall, and afterwards marched in the procession to Sanders Theatre, where a brief address was delivered by Joseph H. Choate Esq., President of the Harvard Chapter, an oration by Wendell Phillips, Esq., and a poem by Charles Godfrey Leland, Esq. The procession was again formed and proceeded to Massachusetts Hall, where the delegates occupied the seats of guests at the dinner table, and in due time Professor Lincoln [of Brown University] responded for them."

The Centennial Exercises at Harvard

"The Editor's Easy Chair" of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine,* in September, 1881, presents a delightful report of the centennial exercises, by George William Curtis, an honorary member of the Alpha of Rhode Island. Attracted by the announcement that Wendell Phillips, "in many ways the first orator of his time," was to speak, Curtis went to Cambridge and wrote his impression.

"The morning was beautiful, a sweet, fresh, brilliant June morning, and there was a great assembly in the grounds of the University. The usual Φ. B. K. attendance is not large. . . . This year, however, the centennial of Harvard, from which all the other chapters, except the parent chapter at William and Mary, have proceeded, have drawn delegations from seventeen other colleges. The pink and blue ribbon, which has replaced the square gold watch-key of other days, fluttered at every buttonhole, and with pealing music leading the way, the long, long procession—a Φ. B. K. procession such as even Harvard never saw before—wound under the imposing buildings toward the beautiful college hall, the Sanders Theatre."

The writer then referred to three previous Phi Beta Kappa occasions: "the 26th of August 1824 when Edward Everett delivered his oration with General Lafayette among his hearers; the 31st of August 1837, when Ralph Waldo Emerson read the remarkable discourse to whose calm, wise and thrilling words the hearts of men who were young then still vibrate, and to which their lives have responded; and when Oliver Wendell Holmes read his poem *A Metrical Essay,* which is the traditional Φ. B. K. poem, as Everett's and Emerson's are the traditional orations. . . .

"The building is filled with an audience to which any orator would be proud to speak. There is music as the audience rustles and murmurs into its place with eager expectation. Then there is a prayer. Then Mr. Choate, the president of the day, with his customary felicity and sparkling banter, speaks of the origin of the ancient and mysterious brotherhood. 'And now,' he says in ending, 'I introduce to you him who, whenever and wherever he speaks, is the orator of the day.' Mr. Phillips rises, and buttons his frock-coat across his white waistcoat as he moves to the front of the platform. Seen from the latter his hair is gray, and his face looks older, but there is the same patrician air; and with the familiar tranquillity and colloquial ease he begins to speak.

"He spoke perhaps for two hours, perhaps for half an hour. But there was no sense of the lapse of time. His voice was somewhat less strong, but it had all the old force and the old music. He was in constant action, never vehement, never declamatory in tone, walking often to and fro, every gesture expressive, art perfectly concealing art. It was all melody and grace and magic, all wit and paradox and power. The apt quotation, the fine metaphor, the careful accumulation of intensive epithet to point an audacious and startling assertion, the pathos, the humor. But why try to describe beauty? It was consummate art, and as noble a display of high oratory as any hearer or spectator had known.

"It is usually thought that there must be a great occasion for great oratory. Burke and Chatham upon the floor of Parliament plead for America against coercion; Adams and Otis and Patrick Henry in vast popular assemblies fire the colonial heart to resist aggression; Webster lays the corner-stone at Bunker Hill, or in the Senate unmasks secession in the guise of political abstraction; Everett must have the living Lafayette by his side. But here is an orator without an antagonist, with no measure to urge or oppose, whose simple theme upon a literary occasion is the public duty of the Scholar. Yet he touches and stirs and inspires every listener; and as he quietly ends his discourse with a stanza of Lowell's that he had quoted a hundred times, every hearer feels that it is a historic day, and that what he has seen and heard will be one of the traditions of Harvard and of Φ. B. K.

"It does not follow, because the audience was charmed, and overflowed with expressions of delight, that it therefore agreed. No American would undo emancipation, to which the life of the orator has been devoted. It was a great blessing to the country and to humanity; but from the blood of Lovejoy to that of the last victim of the war on either side, it was not an unstained and unmixed blessing. There is, indeed, a sense in which 'to gar kings know' that they have a joint in their necks may in itself be called an unstained political gain. But since historically the lesson

is taught only by the terrible sufferings of the innocent and the guilty together, it is, in fact, terribly stained. . . . 'Ah!' said the most benignant of men, 'it was a delightful discourse but preposterous from beginning to end.'

"Yet its central idea, that it is the duty of educated men actively to lead in progress of their time, is incontestable. The orator, indeed, virtually arraigned his alma mater for moral hesitation and timidity. But a university lives in its children, and is judged by them; and surely the history of civil and religious liberty in this country from Samuel Adams, James Otis and Joseph Warren down to Channing and Parker, Charles Sumner and Wendell Phillips, and the brave boys of whom Memorial Hall is the monument, all of whom were sons of Harvard, does not show that the old university has not contributed her share of leadership."

Then referring to the dinner which followed when Oliver Wendell Holmes read his poem, "The Dutch have taken Holland," he wrote:

"Perhaps Doctor Holmes, whose felicitous genius overflowing in wit and music has long put the sparkling bead upon the Φ. B. K. goblet, recited the lines whose response was the gay laughter that rang through a pelting shower of rain far over the college grounds. Perhaps as 'Auld Lang Syne' was sung with locked hands at the end of the dinner, if 'Auld Lang Syne' is ever sung at Φ. B. K. dinners, there was a general feeling that the day had been a red-letter day for the university and a white day in the recollection of all who had heard one of the most charming discourses that were ever delivered in the country, and had beheld a display of oratorical art which in this time, at least, cannot be surpassed. But of all this nothing can be known, because the feasts of Φ. B. K. are sealed with secrecy."

Charles Godfrey Leland's poem has not been published. Under other circumstances it might have proved more impressive. Leland was disappointed at the reception of his poem and so admitted to Oliver Wendell Holmes, who replied, "I saw at once, before you opened your lips, that you had an impossible task—to address an audience which was exhausted by hours of electric shocks." But Leland surely must have been cheered by the compliments paid him at the dinner following, when Holmes in his toast, "The Dutch have taken Holland," made reference to Leland's famous poem "Hans Breitmann":

"The Dutch have taken Holland"—so the school-boys used to say;
The Dutch have taken Harvard,—no doubt of that to-day!
For the Wendells were low Dutchmen, and all their vrows were Vans;
And the Breitmanns are high Dutchmen, and here is honest Hans.

Hans Breitmann gif a barty,—Vhere is dot barty now?
On every shelf where wit is stored to smooth the careworn brow?
A health to stout Hans Breitmann! How long before we see
Another Hans as handsome,—as bright a man as he!

The Committee Prepares a Constitution

The Committee appointed at the convention in Cambridge, June 30, 1881, met in the Council Chamber of the University of the City of New York, on October 18, 1881, at ten o'clock. Sixteen chapters were represented. It was resolved to recommend the creation of a National Council. A committee was appointed to prepare a constitution which was to be effective upon ratification by twelve chapters.

The constitution as proposed provided for a new organization to be designated "The National Council of the Phi Beta Kappa Society" and consisted of nine articles headed:

I. Composition of the National Council; II. Of the Senate; III. Of the Officers of the National Council; IV. Sessions and Functions of the Council; V. Of Members at Large; VI. Of the Senate and its Functions; VII Of By-Laws and Rules of Order; VIII. Of Amendments to this Constitution; IX. Adoption of the Constitution.

The National Council was to consist of the Senators and three delegates from each chapter which had voted to ratify it. The Senate was to consist of twenty members in two classes, ten elected by each Council for terms of six years, and to be in reality a permanent executive committee. The Council was to meet every third year on the first Wednesday in September, to discuss all matters recommended to its consideration by the Senate.

The delegates were so confident that the constitution would be ratified that they invited the chapters to send three delegates each to the first National Council, to be held at Saratoga the first Wednesday in September, 1882, and to empower them to "ratify said Constitution with such modifications as the Council may take."

Before concluding its labors a committee was "to prepare a uniform Constitution and form of initiation, as desirable for adoption by all existing chapters, and to be used in the institution of new chapters and, by a subsequent resolution, to consider the subject of a uniform condition of membership." Secretary Winsor made no mention of the receptions tendered to the committee at City College and at Columbia, which gave emphasis to the social activities which the Fraternity had encouraged from its beginning. Since Raleigh Tavern, where the motto over the mantel in Apollo Hall had read, *Hilaritas Sapientiæ et Bonæ Vitæ Proles*, had

disappeared, no one suspected that "jollity and mirth" characterized its social gatherings when Phi Beta Kappa was young.

The printed report of the meeting in New York invited the chapters to ratify the constitution and appoint delegates to the proposed National Council. A few did both, but some insisted that definite amendments be incorporated. Some declined to appoint delegates, and others sent them without full authority.

The account of the third meeting, held in the Town Hall of Saratoga Springs on the 6th and 7th of September, 1882, gives fuller details, including a list of the fifteen chapters represented, and the names of the twenty-eight delegates in attendance. Octavius B. Frothingham of Harvard was chosen president and Professor Werner of the Gamma of New York, secretary. The minutes, which he later transcribed, give information respecting the developments of the succeeding six years.

Since only seven chapters—Amherst, City College, Kenyon, Trinity, Union, New York University and Wesleyan—had authorized the ratification of the constitution which might be adopted, and two others—Rutgers and Vermont—on condition that definite amendments be incorporated—the constitution had failed of ratification. The gathering was in reality, if not in name, a second convention, and not a First National Council as had been contemplated. The proposed constitution was discussed thoroughly, considerably amended, and then adopted by a unanimous vote.

It was voted: "That as soon as fourteen ratifications shall have been attained, the Chairman and Secretary shall announce the fact to all the chapters. . . .

"That the Chairman and Secretary be authorized to call a convention of the National Council to meet at Saratoga on the morning of the first Wednesday in September, 1883, at 10 o'clock."

The constitution as revised at Saratoga was printed and distributed, but until 1937 no copy was known to be extant. Then two copies were discovered in the library of Hamilton College, and another, upon which Professor Nash had written some amendments, was found among the Hobart chapter records.

In addition to the seven chapters which had ratified the revised constitution seven more were needed before a Council could be called. By June notice of favorable action had been received from the chapters at Harvard, Dartmouth, Union, Bowdoin, Wesleyan, Williams, Columbia, Hamilton and Hobart, sixteen in all. As the secretary wrote: "The ratification was announced to all the chapters, and a call issued for the first meeting of the National Council."

The First National Council

The first national council was also held in the Court of Appeals room in the Town Hall, and an organization was effected by the election of Mr. S. L. Thorndike as chairman and Professor Werner as secretary. The roll call revealed the presence of twenty-three delegates representing thirteen chapters. The chapters at New York University, Kenyon and Middlebury colleges were not represented.

A first duty was the selection of a Senate. In addition to the list of candidates submitted by the committee others were nominated, and a printed ballot contained the names of thirty candidates. Twenty were named in the order of the votes cast for them, the first ten for the six-year term, and the others for three years.

THE FIRST SENATE

Edward E. Hale	Stewart L. Woodford
Adolf Werner	Joseph H. Choate
O. B. Frothingham	John H. Wright
Francis Philip Nash	Richard S. Storrs
Matthew Hale	James B. Angell
George William Curtis	Benjamin N. Martin
Justin Winsor	John A. DeRemer
Oliver W. Holmes	Francis A. Walker
Charles W. Eliot	Thomas Wentworth Higginson
Theodore W. Dwight	Walbridge A. Field

Since Edward Everett Hale and Adolf Werner had both received the highest number of votes, it was by general consent agreed that these senators should together call the first meeting of the Senate.

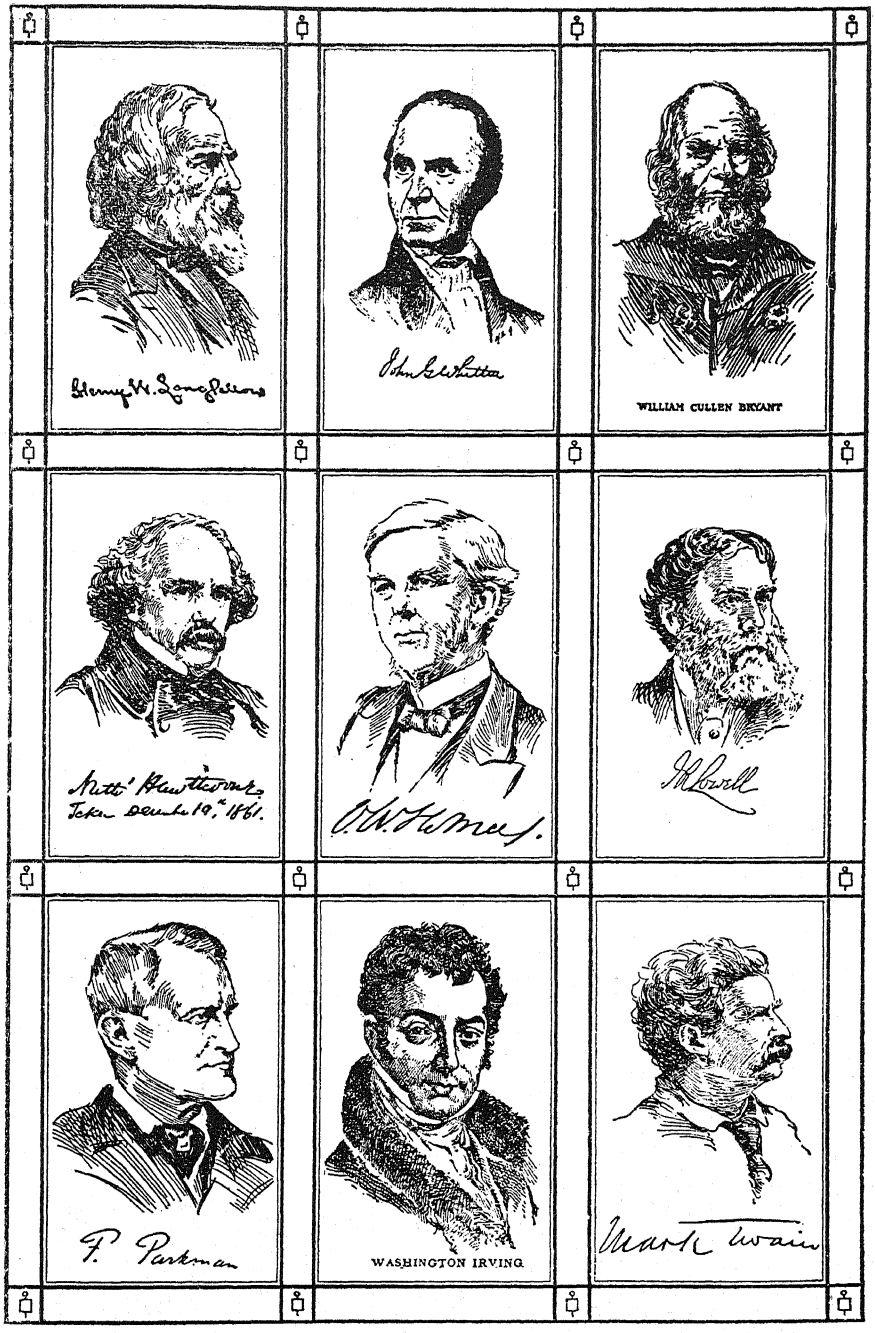
The choice of senators having been announced, "the Chairman brought to the notice of the meeting the fact that delegates from a majority of the chapters were present and four of the Senators also."

Thereupon the delegates and senators constituted themselves the First National Council of Phi Beta Kappa, electing President Eliot president, the Hon. Matthew Hale vice-president, and Professor Werner secretary and treasurer of the Council.

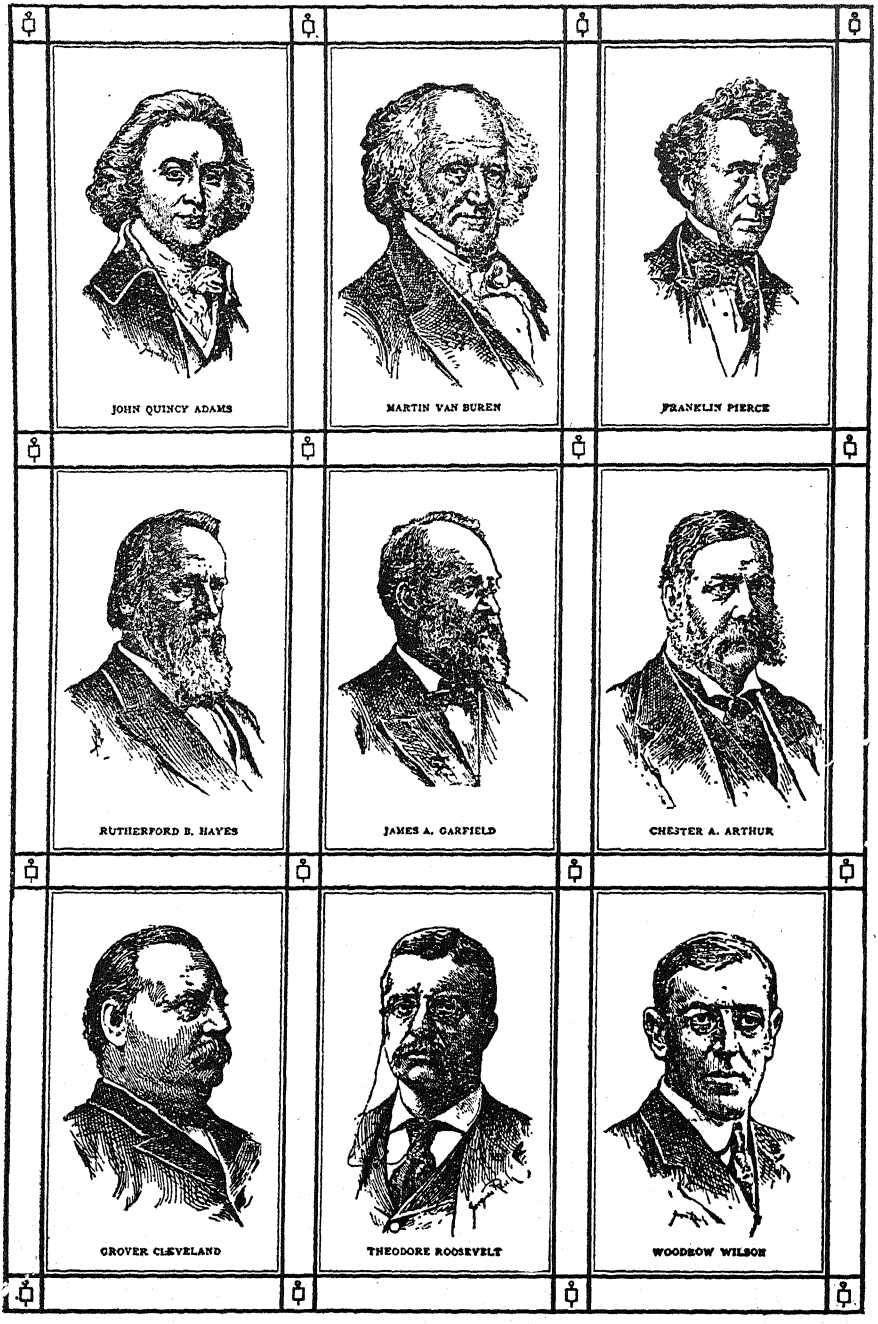
In the absence of President Eliot, Matthew Hale, Esq., presided throughout the session. No members had deeper cause for satisfaction than Edward Everett Hale, who had proposed the calling of the first convention, and Francis Philip Nash, who had made the first serious proposals for a National Council under a constitution to be formally adopted by existing chapters. John A. DeRemer was appointed to report

to the next Council upon the constitutions of the several chapters, and the methods by which they were conducted. Saratoga was selected as the place for the next meeting, and a committee of three was appointed to aid the officers in arranging for it, and to invite the president of the Council to deliver an address.

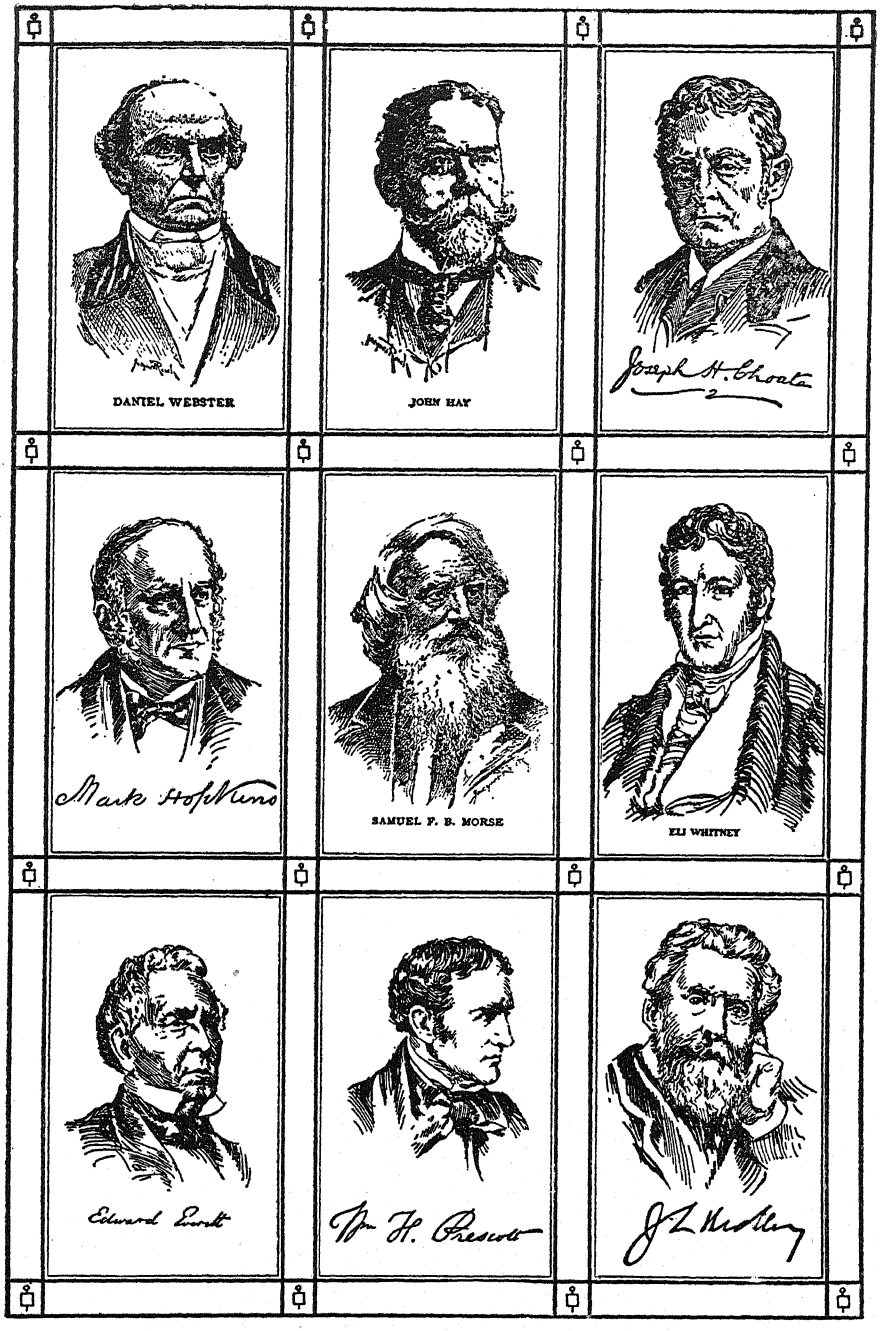
As yet no copy of the certified report of this important session has been found. No report has been found in any journal of the time. In the new organization, however, Phi Beta Kappa was for the first time equipped to command its own future.



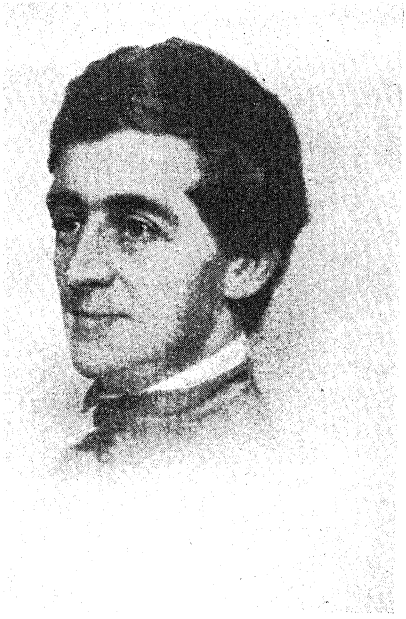
Phi Beta Kappa men of letters



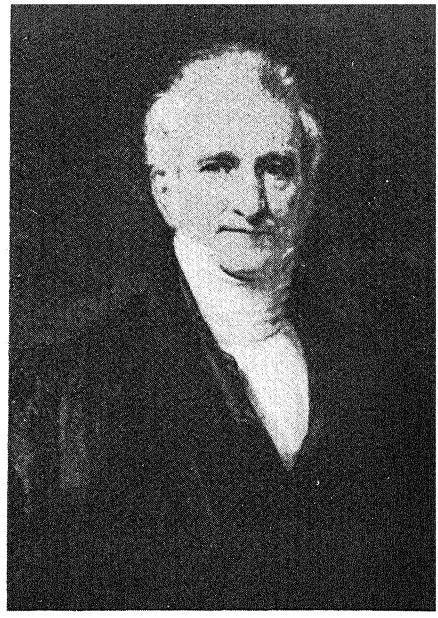
These Presidents of the United States were members of Phi Beta Kappa. Calvin Coolidge and Franklin D. Roosevelt were also members



Phi Beta Kappa scholars, scientists and diplomats



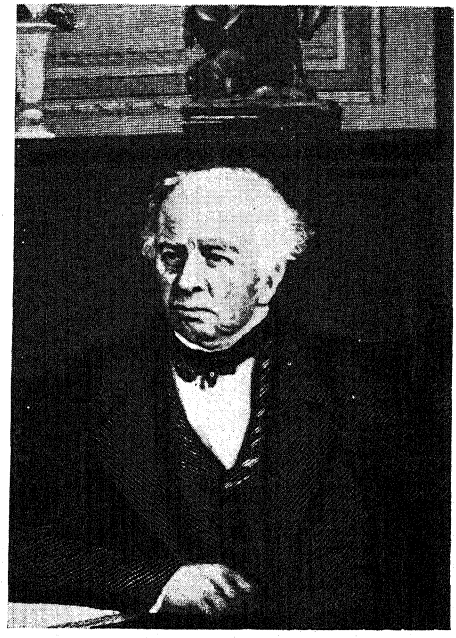
Emerson



Nott



Wayland



Kent



Lida Mason

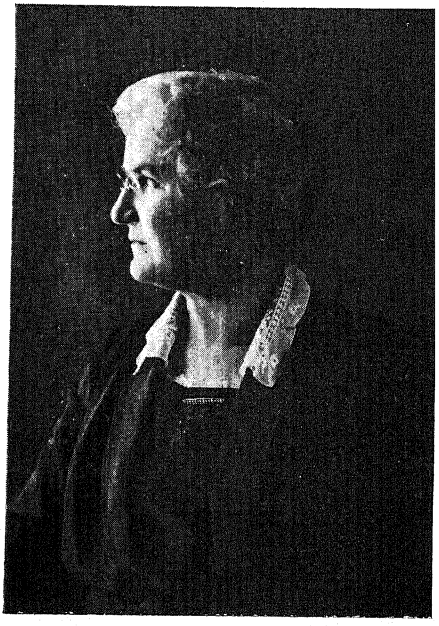


Ellen Hamilton

First two women elected to Phi Beta Kappa

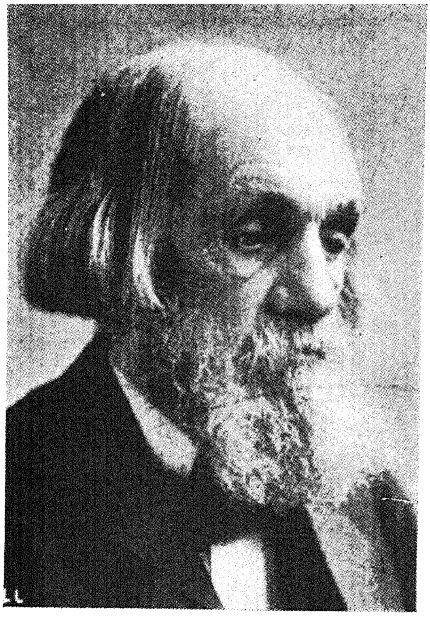


Mary E. Woolley

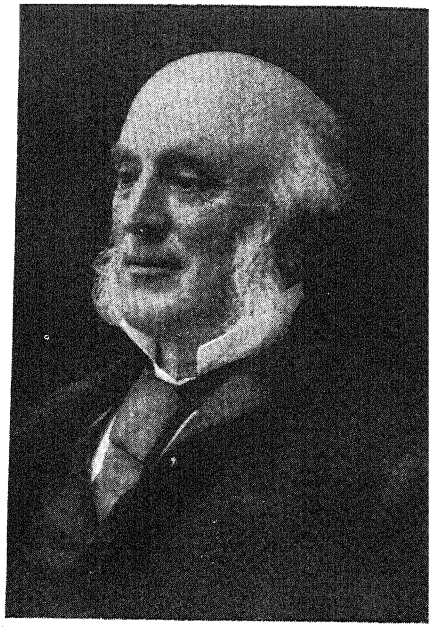


Ellen F. Pendleton

First two women elected to Phi Beta Kappa Senate



Edward Everett Hale



Matthew Hale



Adolf Werner



Charles W. Eliot

The United Chapters of the Phi Beta Kappa Society.

New York, May 31st, 1889

To the Epsilon of New York

at Hamilton College

In accordance with Article IV. of the Constitution and the vote of September 1st, 1886, the National Council of the United Chapters will meet at Saratoga on the evening of Wednesday, the 4th of September next.

Article I. of the Constitution provides that "each chapter shall be entitled to send three delegates, who shall be graduates of at least five years standing and members of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, but not necessarily of the Chapter by which they are chosen."

The Council will be called upon to elect a President, in place of Matthew Hale, a Vice-President, in place of Thomas Wentworth Higginson, a Secretary and a Treasurer, in place of Adolph Werner; and ten Senators, in place of Edward E. Hale, Adolph Werner, Octavius B. Frothingham, Francis P. Nash, Matthew Hale, George W. Curtis, Justin Winsor, Oliver W. Holmes Jr., Theodore W. Dwight and Daniel C. Gilman. (The Senators whose term will expire in 1892 are T. W. Higginson, J. B. Angell, J. R. Lowell, R. S. Storrs, F. A. Walker, S. L. Woodford, J. H. Choate, J. A. De Remer, H. C. Potter and W. D. Whitney.)

The applications for the establishment of chapters of the Society in De Pauw University, St. Stephen's College, Lafayette College, the Syracuse University, the Northwestern University and the University of Kansas (of which applications you were notified by circular letter of the 25th of last March) will be brought before the Council.

Likewise, amendments to the Constitution proposed at the last session of the Council; to wit, of Article II., to empower the Senate to fill vacancies and to discuss and vote by correspondence; of Article IV., to change the mode of determining the time and place of the meetings of the National Council; of Article VII., to change the quorum of the Council; of Article IX., to allow voting on proposed amendments at any time during the session of the National Council.

I have the honor to be,

Respectfully and fraternally,

Adolph Werner

Secretary.

Early document of the United Chapters

CHARTER OF PHI BETA KAPPA

UNITED CHAPTERS.

To Herbert Cushing Tolman and Hiram Albert Vance

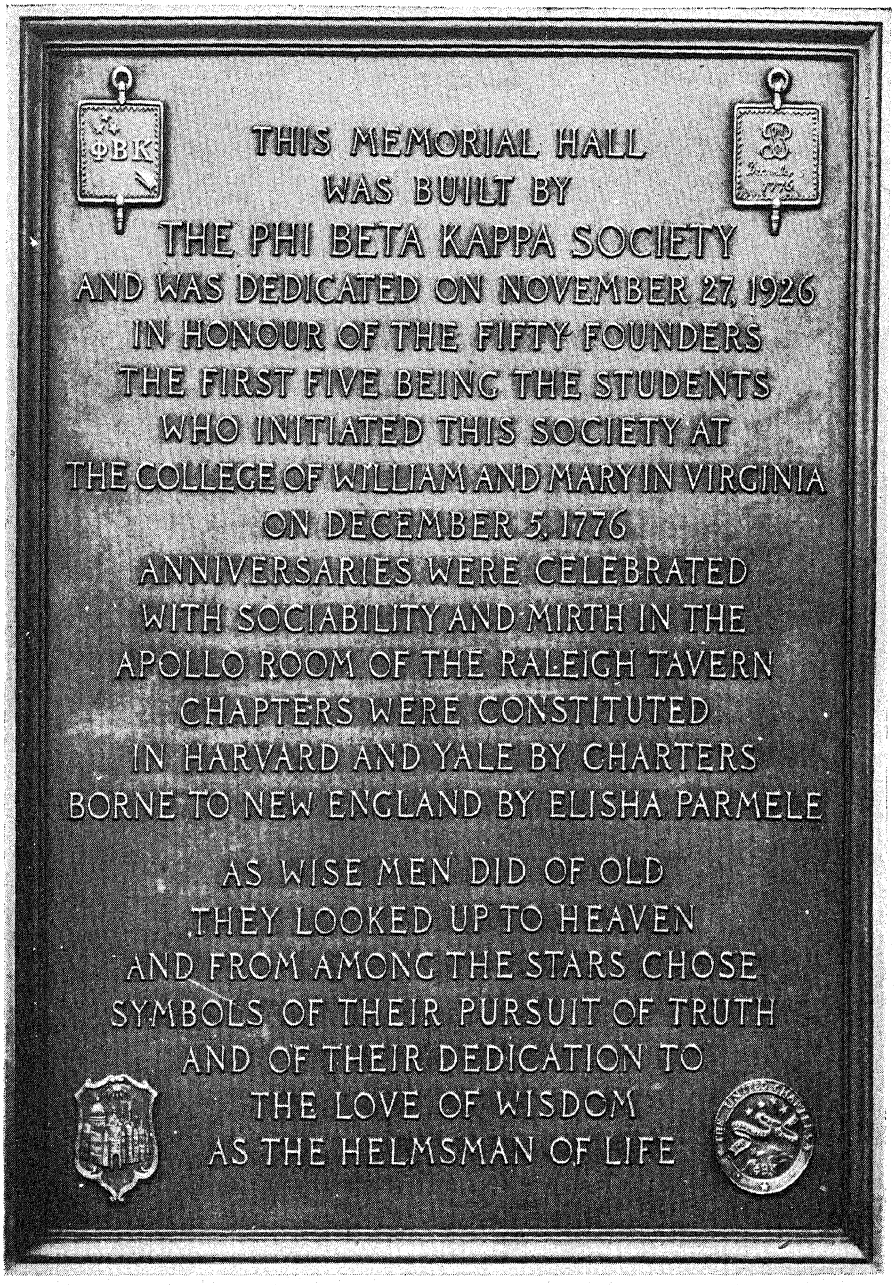
Brethren of the Phi Beta Kappa—GREETING

WHEREAS the National Council of the United Chapters of the Phi Beta Kappa Society has by resolution duly adopted on the 12th day of September, 1901, decreed the establishment of a Chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa in connection with Vanderbilt University at Nashville Tennessee, and has directed the Senate by the President and Secretary to issue a charter in the name of the National Council:—Now, therefore, by virtue of the aforesaid act of the Council and the authority delegated to us, we do hereby incorporate and establish you and such others as you may hereafter elect and associate with yourselves, in conformity to the law of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, into a separate and subordinate branch of said society to be known and called the Alpha Chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa in the state of Tennessee; hereby granting unto you and your successors all the powers, privileges, and benefits thereunto appertaining, in as full and ample a measure as the brethren of the other and existing chapters enjoy, at the same time enjoining upon you in the organization and conduct of the new chapter, and as a condition upon which this charter is granted, strict compliance with the Constitution of the United Chapters and the Model Constitution herewith transmitted to you.

In witness whereof the said Senate has caused the seal of the United Chapters of the Phi Beta Kappa to be affixed hereto, with the signatures of the President and the Secretary.

J. J. DeRemer
PRESIDENT.
Oscar M. Voorhees
SECRETARY.

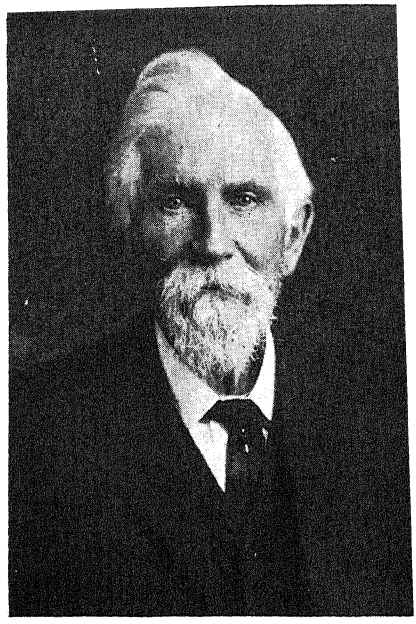
Reduced facsimile of the charter of the Alpha of Tennessee, Vanderbilt University



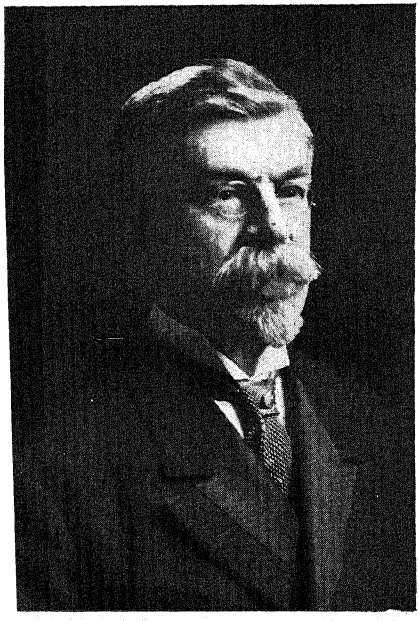
Tablet on Phi Beta Kappa Memorial Hall at Williamsburg, Virginia



John A. De Remer



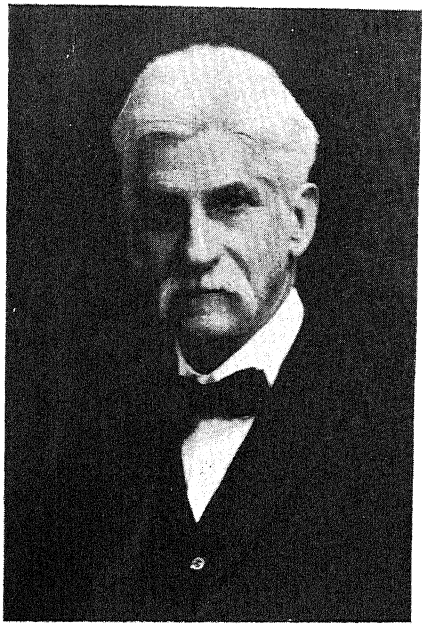
Eben B. Parsons



Edward A. Grosvenor



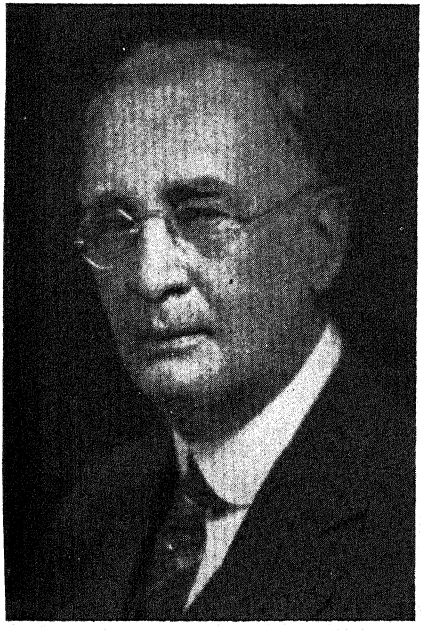
Charles F. Thwing



Edward A. Birge



John J. McCook



Oscar M. Voorhees



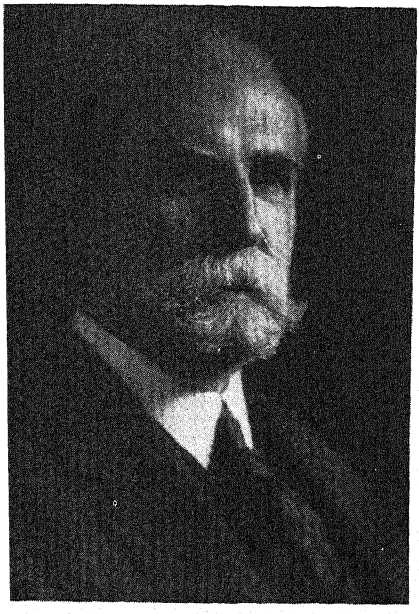
Clark S. Northup



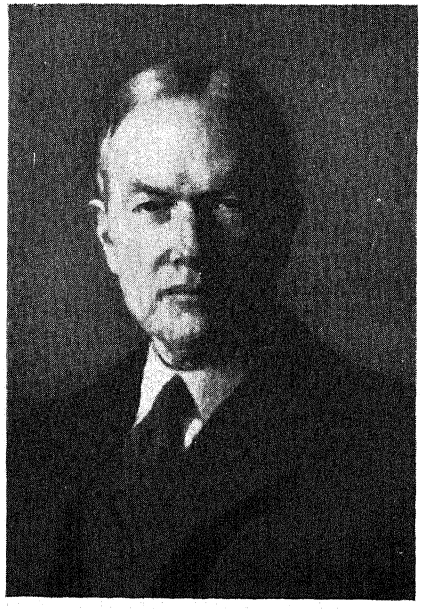
Frank P. Graves



John H. Finley



Charles E. Hughes



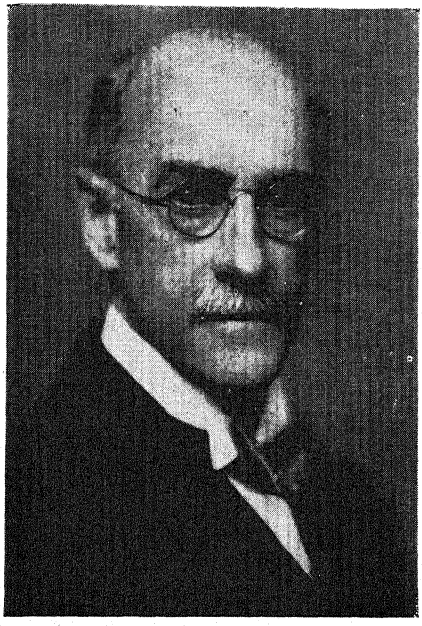
John D. Rockefeller, Jr.



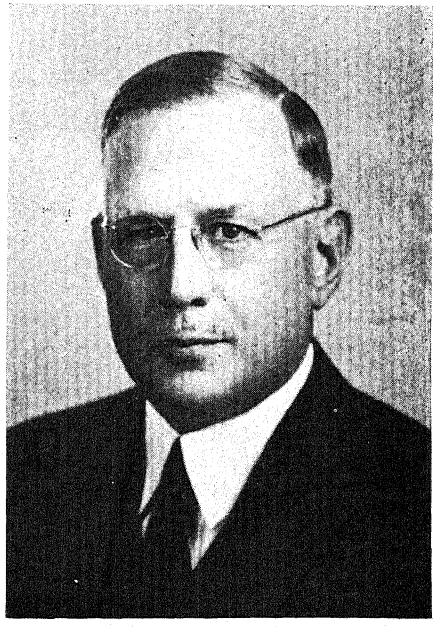
Lily Murray Jones



Arthur Vanderbilt



Dave Hennen Morris



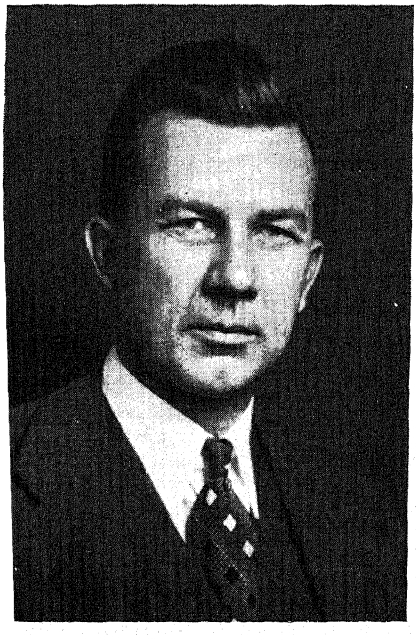
Gano Dunn



Christian Gauss



John K. Clark



William A. Shimer



Hiram Haydn



George H. Chase



Dorothy Kenyon



William T. Hastings



George Dana Graves



Marjorie Hope Nicolson, President of the United Chapters

CHAPTER VIII

Developing Procedure: 1883-1901

THE FIRST MEETING of the Senate, after the organization of the United Chapters was confirmed, was held at the room of the Overseers of Harvard College, 70 Walter St., Boston, December 27, 1883. The seven members present were of the opinion that "they were not a quorum for the organization of the Senate and the transaction of important business. Only an informal discussion was had upon the conditions of the Society." The secretary reported that applications for charters from several colleges had been received, but the meeting could not take action upon them. The next meeting of the Senate was held in Boston, March 6, 1886.

Four applications were presented: from Rochester University, Dickinson College, DePauw University and Lehigh University. It was voted "that the Senate recommend the issue of a charter to the petitioners of Rochester and Lehigh." Regarding Dickinson College, a committee was appointed to "investigate the matter and to make recommendation to the National Council, for or against, in the name of the Senate."

An application in behalf of DePauw University was not recommended, since it did not appear, (1) that any of the petitioners were then in the University, (2) that any person connected with the University desired the establishment of the Society there, and (3) that any member of the Society joined in the application so that a charter might, other objections being waived, be issued to him.

A letter was presented from Professor B. F. Meek, of the University of Alabama, stating that members of the Society "desire to reorganize the old Chapter of their University, inactive since the war," but wished "necessary papers and advice since their records and Charter had been lost." He was unaware that the chapter never had a charter.

The members of the Society at the University were assured that they might reorganize the Alpha, elect officers, and accept the constitution, with good prospect of being recognized by the National Council. Professor Meek later reported that "The University of Alabama is not now in a position to support and carry or an efficient Chapter, but hopes to be so soon." The hope was not realized until 1912.

When the Senate met at Saratoga on August 31, 1886, it was voted,

"in view of the additional matter presented in favor of the application," to reverse the previous action, and to recommend "the establishment of a Chapter in the De Pauw University."

The by-laws proposed by the committee were adopted:

1. A quorum shall consist of five Senators.
2. The officers of the Council shall be the Officers of the Senate.

The following were nominated as candidates for the Senate:

Charles Kendall Adams, Herbert B. Adams, Newton L. Andrews, Henry M. Baird, Matthew H. Buckham, Franklin Carter, Mellen Chamberlain, William G. Hale, James Russell Lowell, Edward North, Henry C. Potter, S. Lathrop Thorndike, James M. Van Vleck, William D. Whitney, Leighton Williams.

The Second National Council

On the convening of the "second triennial session" of the National Council the following morning, September 1, 1886, five members of the Senate were in attendance and twenty-one delegates from twelve chapters.

At the reorganization the vice-president, Matthew Hale, was promoted to the presidency, and Thomas Wentworth Higginson was elected vice-president. Those reelected to membership in the Senate were Daniel C. Gilman, Stewart L. Woodford, Joseph H. Choate, Richard S. Storrs, James B. Angell, John A. DeRemer, and Thomas Wentworth Higginson. James Russell Lowell, Henry C. Potter, and William D. Whitney were made new members.

The Senate's action on the applications for charters was reported and votes by ballot resulted in granting charters to Rochester University, Dickinson College and Lehigh University.

After several amendments to the constitution had been proposed, three motions were passed:

"Resolved that the Senate be desired and authorized to grant Charters in the name of the Council to the Chapters which shall be organized in accordance with the votes passed this day; and that the Senate be also desired to recommend to these Chapters the adoption of such provisions in their Constitutions as in the judgement of the Senate shall insure conformity to the principles and uses of this Society.

"Resolved, That the Senate be requested to report to the next National Council a Form of Charter and Constitution to be used by the National Council for all Charters hereafter granted.

"Resolved that in the opinion of the National Council there is nothing in the character of the ΦBK Society making secrecy obligatory upon any Chapter."

A further proposal was adopted, that the Senate consider only those applications for charters that have the endorsement of at least one chapter of the Society. Then, after voting the thanks of the Council to the Supervisors of Saratoga Springs in recognition of their kindness in granting the room in which the session was held, and deciding that the next Council should be held in Saratoga on the evening of the first day in September, 1889, the Council adjourned.

At the close of the first triennium real progress had been made. Three prominent institutions had been granted charters, showing both initiative and conservatism on the part of the Council. The relation between the National Council and the Senate was coming to be understood. The latter accepted the commissions voted by the Council and attempted to carry them out according to the principles and ideals of the Society. A beginning of assembling membership lists was made at once and continued without interruption until the first catalogue of all living members was issued in 1900.

The Senate was called to meet at the College of the City of New York, October 30. Only four were present—the president, secretary and Senators Nash and DeRemer.

Informally the Senators discussed the form of a charter to be issued to new chapters. It was agreed that each Senator draw up a form to present at the next meeting of the Senate; and it was also agreed, subject to the pleasure of the president, to hold this meeting at Boston, on the 8th of January 1887.

Seven members were present. In the absence of the secretary, Justin Winsor of Harvard was chosen secretary pro tem. A form of charter presented by Senator DeRemer was considered and adopted. Three copies were later engrossed and, duly signed and sealed, were forwarded to the applicants, and the chapters were duly organized. Only one is extant, that for the Iota of New York. It is here quoted.

To Harrison L. Webster, and Joseph Henry Gilmore,
Brethren of the Phi Beta Kappa, Greeting:
Whereas the,

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE UNITED CHAPTERS OF THE PHI BETA KAPPA SOCIETY

has, by resolution duly adopted on the first day of September 1886, declared the expediency of establishing a chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa in connection with the University of Rochester, located at Rochester, New York, and has directed and authorized the Senate to grant a charter in the name of the Council to the chapter to be

organized in said University in accordance with the vote of said Council:

NOW THEREFORE, by virtue of the aforesaid resolution of the National Council of the United Chapters of the Phi Beta Kappa Society and the authority delegated to us,

WE DO HEREBY incorporate and establish you, the aforesaid J. H. Gilmore and H. E. Webster, and such others as you may hereafter associate with yourselves, in conformity with the Laws of the Phi Beta Kappa, into a separate and subordinate Branch of said Society, to be known and called by the name of

THE IOTA OF NEW YORK

hereby granting unto you and your successors all the powers, privileges and benefits thereunto appertaining, in as full and ample a manner as the Brethren of other and existing Chapters enjoy the same: at the same time especially enjoining upon you, in the organization and conduct of said Chapter, a due regard for, and strict compliance with, the Constitution of the aforesaid National Council and all the laws, customs and usages of the Phi Beta Kappa which have obtained in our several Chapters in the years past.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the said United Chapters of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, by its said Senate, has hereunto set its hand and seal at Boston, Massachusetts, this eighth day of January 1888.

A committee was appointed to design a seal. This seal was afterwards reported to the National Council and was accepted, and has been recognized as the seal of the United Chapters from that time.

Though the charter for Rochester was the first approved by the Senate and the first granted by the National Council, the members at Dickinson College completed their organization seven days earlier. Hence the chapter at Dickinson holds the honor of being the first under the National Council and is number twenty-six in the official roster, though number twenty in the order of active chapters. The Beta of Pennsylvania at Lehigh and the Iota of New York were organized on April 15 and 20 respectively.

The Centennial of the Alpha of New Hampshire

During the session of the Council of 1886 Professor John K. Lord of Dartmouth had invited his fellow delegates "to attend the Centennial celebration of the Alpha of New Hampshire, to be held at Dartmouth College during Commencement week, 1887."

The day proved favorable and the attendance indicated wide interest in the anniversary. At the initial business session, "the President, Hon.

Edward F. Noyes, LL.D., delivered an address of welcome to the visitors present; to the Senate of the United Chapters of the Society; the delegates and guests from other chapters; and to the members of the Alpha of New Hampshire."

Professor Richardson outlined plans for the celebration and read extracts from letters of congratulation from thirteen chapters and from thirty-three members who were unable to be present.

The assembly then proceeded to the College Church for the exercises, which, after prayer by the chaplain, consisted of the historical address by Frederick Chase of the class of 1860, and the oration by George Headly, LL.D., of Ohio.

Chase, author of the then unpublished *History of Dartmouth College and The Town of Hanover,* described the College during its early days when Phi Beta Kappa was finding its place in competition with two literary societies. He told of the progress of the chapter mainly in general terms. He had learned what was then not generally known, that the records of the original Society were among the archives of the Virginia Historical Society. He stated what seems an error, that "Elisha Parmelee, . . . pursuing post-graduate studies at William and Mary, . . . becoming a member of the Society, and conceiving a still more ambitious scheme [than the institution of Branches in Virginia] was, upon his own solicitation, empowered to set up Branches of the same at Harvard and Yale, . . . designated the Alpha of Massachusetts and the Alpha of Connecticut, instead of being (as at first intended) the Epsilon and the Zeta of the Virginia series." He related further that "the parent Society, in the meantime, in January, 1781, succumbed, with the Virginia branches and the College itself to the confusions of war. Its records were hidden away and lost; and the memory of it rested nearly a century in tradition. For want of authentic knowledge many fanciful accounts of its origin were invented later to gratify the pride and curiosity of its children."

He referred to the fanciful account in the records, that the "Virginia Society derived its origin, through refugees of high rank, from a literary convivial club at Oxford in the time of James II, which he did it the honor, for political reasons, to suppress."

The purpose of the oration was to compare the high quality of those in leadership preceding and following the War for American Independence who adopted the Declaration of Independence and framed the Constitution of the United States, which was being made operative when Phi Beta Kappa was entering Dartmouth, and the leaders of a century later when, under degenerate circumstances, money was so largely used to control elections as to make the maintenance of high political ideals difficult, if not impossible. Many statements were quoted to make clear

the sinister money power in the politics of the time. The call was for a larger participation of educated men in governmental activities, and such a reform of political methods that character and not contributions should determine who were to be candidates for office.

Following the public exercises the Society, its orators, and its guests, marched to the dinner in Bissell Hall. The record states that

"At the close of the dinner the President made a brief address, and other speeches were made by Col. T. W. Higginson, Vice President of the United Chapters; President F. A. Walker and Professor Francis P. Nash, Senators of the same; Governor Headly, Henry M. MacCracken, D.D. (Univ. of N. Y.), Professor L. Bevier (Rutgers), Rev. Lucius Waterman (Trinity), President S. C. Bartlett, representing the College. The Secretary read a letter of warm congratulation from the venerable President Benjamin S. Ewell, LL.D., of William and Mary College, Williamsburg, Va., in which Institution the parent Chapter of the ΦBK was established in 1776. President Ewell expressed the deep obligation of his College to Dartmouth because of the decision of the United States (Supreme Court) in the Dartmouth College case, whereby the Institution over which he presides has been secured in its chartered life and immunities, through years of peculiar misfortune. He also presented to the Alpha of New Hampshire a silver fac-simile of the only remaining badge of those worn by the Charter Members of the parent Chapter."

The Third National Council

The Senate held its next regular meeting, March 2, 1889, in the Harvard Overseers' Office in Boston with seven members present. Six applications for charters were considered, De Pauw University, St. Stephen's College, Lafayette College, Syracuse University, Northwestern University and the State University of Kansas.

The applications for De Pauw, Lafayette and Northwestern were "recommended to the National Council." Those for Syracuse and Kansas, without the required endorsements, were recommended, "provided the necessary endorsement be furnished." The application from St. Stephen's College was postponed to the next meeting of the Senate.

But for one copy of the letter to the chapters preserved at Hamilton College, nothing would be known of the formal call of the Third National Council to meet in Saratoga, N. Y., the following September 4, 1889. The letter is interesting as indicating Secretary Werner's method:

"In accordance with Article IV of the Constitution and the vote of September 1st, 1886, the National Council of the United Chapters will

meet at Saratoga on the evening of Wednesday, the 4th of September, next.

"Article I. of the Constitution provides that 'each Chapter shall be entitled to send three delegates, who shall be graduates of at least five years standing and members of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, but not necessarily of the Chapter by which they are chosen.'

"The Council will be called upon to elect a President, in place of Matthew Hale, a Vice President, in place of Thomas Wentworth Higginson, a Secretary and a Treasurer, in place of Adolf Werner; and ten Senators, in place of Edward E. Hale, Adolf Werner, Octavius B. Frothingham, Francis P. Nash, Matthew Hale, George W. Curtis, Justin Winsor, Oliver W. Holmes Jr., Theodore W. Dwight and Daniel C. Gilman. The Senators whose term will expire in 1892 are T. W. Higginson, J. B. Angell, J. R. Lowell, R. S. Storrs, F. A. Walker, S. L. Woodford, J. H. Choate, J. A. DeRemer, H. C. Potter and W. D. Whitney.

"The applications for the establishment of Chapters of the Society in De Pauw University, St. Stephen's College, Lafayette College, Syracuse University, Northwestern University and University of Kansas (of which applications you were notified by circular letter of the 25th of last March) will be brought before the Council.

"Likewise, amendments to the Constitution proposed at the last session of the Council; to wit, of Article II to empower the Senate to fill vacancies and to discuss and vote by correspondence; of Article IV to change the mode of determining the time and place of the meetings of the National Council; of Article VII to change the quorum of the Council; of Article IX to allow voting on proposed amendments at any time during the session of the National Council.

"I have the honor to be,

"Respectfully and fraternally,

"Adolf Werner, Secretary."

At the next session of the Senate, September 3, 1889, preceding the meeting of the Council, six Senators being present, the *conditional* recommendations of applications in behalf of Syracuse and Kansas Universities were made *absolute,* the necessary endorsements having been received, and it was voted that "the Senate recommend to the National Council to postpone consideration 'of the applications in behalf of St. Stephen's College' until the next meeting of the National Council."

After nominations had been made of candidates for seats in the Senate to become vacant, and after appointing Senators DeRemer and Werner a committee "to prepare a Charter and Constitution in accordance with the Resolution of the last National Council," the Senate adjourned to

convene again the evening of the next day to receive and adopt the charter.

The roll of the Council showed the presence of seven Senators—Messrs, Frothingham, DeRemer, Gilman, Hale, Nash, Potter and Werner—and thirty-one delegates representing seventeen chapters. Senators Octavius B. Frothingham and Matthew Hale were listed as delegates from their chapters, Harvard and Vermont. Four chapters sent full delegations; six others sent two delegates each, and seven sent only one delegate each. The seven chapters not represented were the Alphas of Connecticut, Maine, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and the Betas of Vermont, New York and Pennsylvania. Two of the three new chapters, the Iota of New York, and the Alpha of Pennsylvania, were represented. The four chapters fully represented sent more than one-third of the delegates present.

At the election of officers the president and secretary declined re-election. The following were chosen:

President, Thomas Wentworth Higginson of Cambridge, Mass.,

Vice-President, Francis Philip Nash of Geneva, New York,

Secretary and Treasurer, Dr. Eben B. Parsons of Williamstown, Mass.

In the absence of the president-elect, Professor Nash presided.

Senators Edward E. Hale, Adolf Werner, Octavius B. Frothingham, Francis P. Nash, Matthew Hale and Daniel C. Gilman were reelected. New members chosen were Timothy W. Dwight of Yale, Charles Kendall Adams of Cornell, Horace E. Webster and Eben B. Parsons.

The new secretary, Dr. Parsons, Williams 1859, while minister of the Presbyterian church of Baldwinsville, New York, had edited the *Williams Quarterly*, served as Alumni Necrologist, and been invited to become Registrar of the College and Secretary of the Faculty. Before accepting these offices he had in 1887 brought out from a press in nearby Syracuse a monumental catalogue of the Gamma of Massachusetts. Of eighty-four pages, it was the largest chapter catalogue yet issued. In addition to the lists of members, with notes respecting their activities, it mentioned the United Chapters, and listed the twenty-two chapters which had become members. In 1881 he had received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Maryville College, Tennessee, and had been appointed a delegate to the present National Council.

Professor Felix Adler of Columbia "addressed the Council on participation of the Society in the National Celebration of 1892," and was at once made chairman of a committee on the subject to report the following day.

Recommendations of the Senate were confirmed and charters granted to De Pauw University, the State University of Kansas, Northwestern University and Lafayette College.

The committee of which Professor Adler was chairman offered the following resolutions, which were adopted:

"WHEREAS, it is eminently desirable to secure in connection with the quadri-centennial of the discovery of America a proper representation of the intellectual life of the American people as manifested by their progress in Science and Literature:

"RESOLVED, that a committee of seven be appointed by the chair to devise plans suitable to this end.

"RESOLVED, that this committee take into particular consideration the plan of preparing a monumental work to consist of monographs on the progress of each of the special branches of science and literature in America since the discovery.

"RESOLVED, that this committee be authorized to offer, in case the necessary fund can be raised, two prizes of three thousand dollars each for the best general essays on American progress in science and literature respectively, such essays to embrace a philosophical discussion of development in the past and outlook for the future.

"RESOLVED, that this committee be authorized to add to its numbers and to raise the funds necessary for carrying out such plans as it may adopt."

The record continues:

"In accordance with these resolutions the following committee was appointed: Bishop H. C. Potter of New York, President C. K. Adams of Cornell, President D. C. Gilman of Johns Hopkins, President J. B. Angell of the University of Michigan, President C. W. Eliot of Harvard, President Timothy Dwight of Yale, and President Cyrus Northrop of the University of Minnesota.

"This proposal aroused enthusiasm."

The Senate as directed by the previous Council offered for consideration the text of two important documents, a Charter, and a Constitution for New Chapters, the latter spoken of as the Model Constitution. Both were adopted, and with slight verbal changes were used until 1937. They are quoted:

THE CHARTER

To:

Brethren of the Φ B K, GREETING,

WHEREAS, The National Council of the United Chapters of the Phi Beta Kappa Society has by resolution, duly adopted on the, decreed the establishment of a chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa in connection with and has directed the Senate by its President and Secretary to issue a charter in the name of

the Council to the chapter to be organized in said Institution: Now, therefore, by virtue of the aforesaid Act of the Council and the authority delegated to us, we do hereby incorporate and establish you, and such others as you may hereafter associate with yourselves in conformity to the Laws of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, to be known and called the Chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa in the State of Hereby granting unto you and your successors all the powers, privileges and benefits thereunto appertaining in as full and ample a measure as the brethren of other and existing chapters enjoy, at the same time enjoining upon you in the organization and conduct of the new chapter, and as a condition upon which this charter is granted, strict compliance with the Constitution of the United Chapters and the Chapter Constitution herewith transmitted to you.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the said Senate has caused the Seal of the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa to be affixed hereto and this Charter to be signed by the President and the Secretary.

THE CONSTITUTION

I. This society is one of the co-ordinate branches of the body known as *The United Chapters of the Phi Beta Kappa,* and shall be called the Chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa society in the State of

II. The object of the Phi Beta Kappa society is the promotion of scholarship and friendship among students and graduates of American Colleges.

III. The members of the Chapter shall be elected *primarily* from the best scholars of the graduating classes of the college, *secondly* from those graduates of said college whose post-graduate work entitles them to such honor, and *lastly* from any persons distinguished in letters, science or education; provided, however, that the selection from each graduating class shall not exceed one-fourth of the number graduated. But the Chapter may make further limitations or restrictions.

IV. In addition to scholarship, good moral character shall be a qualification of membership, and any member who is found to have lost this qualification may be expelled from the society by a four-fifths vote of the members present at a regular annual meeting of the society.

V. This Chapter shall send a delegation to represent it at each National Council of the United Chapters, shall contribute its equal part to the financial support of the United Chapters, and shall conform to the constitution of the United Chapters and all the lawful requirements of the National Council.

VI. This Chapter shall, by the enactment of suitable by-laws,

provide for its election of officers, the initiation of members, the conduct of its meetings, and such other matters as it may deem wise to so regulate.

The office of the United Chapters was to be for twelve years at Williamstown, Massachusetts, for Dr. Parsons returned in 1888 to his Alma Mater as Registrar and Secretary of the Faculty. He did not make record of the papers which came to him from Professor Werner.

The charters, written by the secretary, were signed by him and by President Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and bore the seal of the United Chapters. None of them has been preserved.

For information concerning the work of the triennium several sources are available in addition to the minutes of meetings of Senate and Council. In the course of seven months the four new chapters were installed, at De Pauw University, December 17, 1889, Northwestern University, February 18, 1890, the University of Kansas, April 2, 1890, and Lafayette College, April 5, 1890. The reports received of the organization of these chapters have not been preserved.

The committee on the celebration of the discovery of America seems not to have taken its appointment seriously, for the Senate was not called together to consider and authorize definite proposals. The prizes were not offered and the monographs were not prepared.

The organization of the United Chapters aroused some interest in the Society's early history, but apparently not at Harvard and at Yale. In 1885 the Alpha of Massachusetts published its nineteenth catalogue, but included no introductory statement. The twentieth catalogue of the Alpha of New Hampshire, published in 1887, contained no more historical information than had its predecessor of 1884. For the fifth catalogue of the Alpha of Maine in 1888, however, Professor Henry L. Chapman prepared an historical sketch which showed familiarity with what Frederick Chase had written, and with the "Historical Sketch of William and Mary" published in 1874. It is evident that Professor Chapman had before him a letter sent in 1852 by Professor Morgan J. Smead in announcing the revival of the Society at William and Mary. The catalogue of the Alpha of Rhode Island in 1888 lists only thirteen chapters, and makes no reference to the Centennial at Harvard and the resultant union of the chapters.

Doctor Parsons began to accumulate catalogues, among them that of the Alpha of New Jersey, which contained a fuller account of the beginnings of Phi Beta Kappa than had previously been published. Its author had seen the minutes of the original Society at William and Mary, and in addition related in some detail the organization and development of the United Chapters.

When the chapter was instituted at Rutgers College in 1869, it decided to hold monthly meetings during the academic year for the reading of papers and the discussion of topics of general interest. In 1889 a student in the Seminary was invited by the President, Dr. Henry R. Baldwin, to bring in a paper on the history of the Society. In preparing the paper the student found Dr. Edward Everett Hale's *Atlantic Monthly* article of 1879, and another by Hon. John DeWitt Warner of New York, published in the October, 1886, number of the *Delta Kappa Epsilon Quarterly,* in which Phi Beta Kappa was designated "The First Greek Letter Society." The student was privileged to copy the original records Mr. Warner had obtained from Robert A. Brock, Secretary of the Virginia Historical Society. The paper was read in January, 1890, and later formed the introduction to the Alpha's catalogue.

The Fourth National Council, 1892

In preparation for the Fourth National Council, the Senate met at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, with five Senators present, Higginson, Frothingham, Walker, Werner, and Secretary Parsons.

Six applications for charters were presented and the following were recommended: University of Pennsylvania, University of Minnesota, Wabash College, Tufts College, and Swarthmore College.

At the request of the Council, the secretary had sent to the chapters four inquiries:

1. The proportion of students eligible each year.
2. The courses taken by candidates.
3. The part taken by the faculty in elections.
4. The method used in the reception of members.

To the first inquiry seventeen replied that one-third of the members of each graduating class were chosen. Amherst elected one-fifth, and the College of the City of New York chose about one-sixth. At Yale, "High Oration Standing" by juniors made them eligible, and yielded an average slightly greater than one-fifth of the classes. At Lehigh, juniors with a standing of 80% were eligible, and one sophomore might be taken if he had led his class during two years. Two chapters elected fixed numbers—Harvard, 25; Cornell, 12; no average percentages being used. The chapters did not state their attitude toward the proposed one-fourth limitation.

Respecting courses, seven chapters restricted eligibility to students taking the classical or A.B. course, nine admitted some who were taking the B.S. course, and two others added the Ph.B. course.

In three chapters, elections were by undergraduates, with the official

standing of students as a guide. In all other chapters, the faculty members were responsible for selections. In two cases, local members might vote, but seldom expressed independent judgment.

From the replies to the fourth inquiry the secretary drafted a simple ceremony of initiation to include the essential items in the rituals submitted.

At its meeting at Saratoga in September the Senate prepared a list of candidates for the vacancies to occur, and at an adjourned meeting the following morning, Bucknell University was added to the list of institutions recommended for charters. The only change in the officers was the election of Professor Adolf Werner as vice-president. Senators T. W. Higginson, Bishop Potter, Hon. J. A. DeRemer, President F. A. Walker, and Librarian Justin Winsor, were reelected Senators. New members were Bishop Phillips Brooks of Boston, President Merrill E. Gates of Amherst, President Seth Low of Columbia, Professor Samuel Hart of Wesleyan, and Professor Francis A. March of Lafayette. Hon. Elihu Root was chosen to succeed Professor Theodore W. Dwight, deceased.

By unanimous vote by chapters, charters were granted to the University of Pennsylvania, the University of Minnesota, and Tufts College. Since Swarthmore College had not been endorsed by any chapter the application was "deferred without prejudice and without need of a renewed application, till the next session of the council."

Shortly after the adjournment of the Council, Secretary Parsons prepared and forwarded to Senators and to the chapters a pamphlet containing the minutes of the Council. Of further correspondence no record has been preserved. The dates of the new chapters are: Tufts College, November 18, 1892, University of Pennsylvania, December 9, 1892, University of Minnesota, December 13, 1892.

The Revival of the Alpha of Virginia

Following the War between the States the College of William and Mary was continued with difficulty until 1881, and then was compelled to close to conserve its slender resources. During those years the average attendance, including boys in the grammar school, was about fifty. When in 1875 it rose to eighty-six, Colonel William Lamb, who had been made a member of the Alpha chapter in 1855, moved to reorganize. As a member of the Board of Visitors, his proposal found favor and a few members accepted his invitation to meet at the president's house in July, 1875. Five were present, including President Benjamin S. Ewell and Rev. Professor George T. Wilmer, who presided, Colonel Lamb acted as secretary. The secretary's minutes have happily been preserved.

Though no records were at hand, the members proceeded with the reorganization and proposed for membership several men of distinction, who at a subsequent meeting the same day were elected.

Colonel Lamb was requested to collect the missing records and to correspond with the other branches of the Society. However, within a year the College began to decline and no further meetings of the chapter were held. In 1881 the College closed again. Its re-opening in 1888 was made possible by an appropriation from the Legislature of Virginia. Student attendance soon approximated 175.

When in 1893 preparations were being made for the celebration of the two-hundredth anniversary, friends of the College were encouraged by an appropriation of $60,000 by the Congress of the United States, in partial payment for the loss caused by the burning of the main building during the Peninsular Campaign of the Union Army in 1862. The anniversary was celebrated during commencement week with the reorganization of Phi Beta Kappa as the concluding event. Again Colonel Lamb took the initiative by inviting other members to meet him in the College Chapel on December 5, the Society's 117th anniversary. The day proving stormy, the meeting was postponed four days, until the 9th. Then the Society was revived, and President Lyon G. Tyler, three members of the faculty, and other friends of the College were elected to honorary membership.

However, as the standards of the revived College were low, no provision was made for student membership. The chapter confined elections to prominent graduates of the College, and to other men of Virginia and elsewhere who had attained distinction. Their acceptance gave the chapter a growing reputation. Under the conditions its unusual methods received general approval. Members of other chapters rejoiced that the ancient Society was again active at the venerable College of William and Mary.

The Fifth National Council, 1895

In preparation for the Fifth National Council, the Senate met in President Walker's room at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, March 16, 1895, with President Higginson in the chair. Other Senators present were Frothingham, Hale, Hart, Nash, Walker and Werner. Professor Werner was made secretary pro tem.

"Communications were received from the Alpha of Ohio (Adelbert), the Gamma of Ohio (Marietta), and the Alpha of Virginia (William and Mary), expressing the desire of these chapters to become members of the United Chapters." The Senate gave them appropriate welcome, and

they were invited to send delegates to the Fifth Council, to meet at Saratoga on September 11, 1895.

A folder was prepared, containing a list of eleven applications with the names of endorsing chapters, copies of the constitution as revised, and the "Chapter Constitution, as recommended by the National Council."

At the meeting of the Senate at Saratoga, September 10, 1895, fifteen candidates for membership were nominated, and the Brown chapter was added to the list of chapters which had ratified the constitution and had chosen a delegate to the Council. Thus all the earlier chapters had attained membership except the Alpha of Alabama, which was still inactive.

When the Council met the next day, six Senators were present and forty-three delegates from twenty-six of the thirty-four chapters. Eight were not represented.

The application in behalf of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology "brought out a general debate as to the wisdom of giving Phi Beta Kappa charters to institutions without the A.B. degree." Later, the application was denied by a close vote and the broad question was referred to the chapters under these resolutions:

"That it is inexpedient to grant a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa to any institution which does not grant in regular course the degree of Bachelor of Arts. That it is expedient to confine the membership of every chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa to graduates taking the degree of Bachelor of Arts."

The Council approved the action of the Senate in declining to recommend an application in behalf of Barnard College in New York, which was closely related to Columbia, "on the ground that granting it would be in effect the erection of two chapters in one institution, which is contrary to the policy hitherto pursued by the Φ B K." Subsequently a Barnard College Section of the Columbia Chapter was set up, following the precedent established in 1900 by the Alpha of Rhode Island in organizing a Women's Section of the Chapter to provide for the election of members in course from Pembroke College, the affiliated college for women. Similar procedure followed in other chapters.

The following were elected to the Senate: Gilman, Hale, Nash, Parsons, and Werner, Professor Simeon E. Baldwin of Yale, Professor Henry L. Chapman of Bowdoin, President John F. Hurst of De Pauw, Colonel William Lamb of William and Mary and President Charles F. Thwing of Western Reserve, Horace E. Scudder of Boston to fill out the term of Bishop Phillips Brooks, deceased.

The Council appointed a committee to consider initiations, customs,

and traditions of Phi Beta Kappa, and on motion of Professor Baldwin of Yale, "the United Chapters earnestly recommended to the active members of the several chapters that they hold one or more stated meetings in each month of the college year . . . for the reading of papers, oral discussions, or other appropriate literary exercises in which the members generally may participate."

Phi Beta Kappa's Original Records Published

The revival of the Alpha at William and Mary was followed by an increased interest in the history of the Society. Colonel Lamb in 1895 made a successful appeal to the Virginia Historical Society at Richmond for the return of the records to William and Mary. Thus an opportunity for a study of their contents was afforded and it was determined to publish them in the William and Mary College *Quarterly*. President Tyler prepared an introduction and added sketches of the lives and public services of the fifty members. By an unusual circumstance the charter of the Alpha of Massachusetts, which had been carried northward in 1779 by Elisha Parmele, was at Williamsburg. How this charter became separated from other records at Harvard is not known. In a sale of memorabilia it was purchased by John C. Ropes, Harvard, 1857. A little later Colonel William Lamb called to express appreciation to the author for his fairness in treating the Confederates in his history of the War, whereupon Mr. Ropes gave the paper to the Colonel without revealing its importance. Very properly it was included in the records to be printed in the *Quarterly*. Its publication gave members a first view of the beginnings of Phi Beta Kappa. There were illustrations, one of the Raleigh Tavern, one of the original medal, one of a key of a design put out by a jeweler as an advertisement.

Secretary Parsons now began to reconstruct the history of the Society and decided to publish during the interval between Councils a pamphlet of general information. Only one copy is known to be in existence, the first pamphlet of general interest to be issued by the United Chapters. The pamphlet contained lists of officers and Senators of the United Chapters, followed by the officers of the thirty chapters, the constitution and by-laws of the United Chapters, a short review of "The Early Days at William and Mary," "The Hundred Years, 1781–1881," and "The United Chapters."

In a summary the Society's membership was given as 17,500, about 16,000 of whom had taken the Bachelor of Arts course.

Respecting the ritual, Secretary Parsons wrote:

"The Form of Initiation differs widely throughout the Fraternity. In

some chapters the fact of a man's election is reported to him and the admission fee is collected and he helps pay for a dinner to celebrate the event. In other chapters there is an impressive service conducted by some leading men of the order. The printed forms of initiation sent by several chapters indicate a common origin."

The address to the initiates begins,

"Gentlemen: being well assured of your talents and worth we have elected you members of the Phi Beta Kappa. Do you promise to approve yourselves worthy members by encouraging friendship, morality, and literature?"

An affirmative answer was expected, and it was stated that some chapters still called "for a pledge of secrecy."

The general charge is as follows: "Gentlemen, we have now the pleasure to recognize you as associates in Phi Beta Kappa. Let your new relation invite you to diligence in the acquisition of knowledge and the cultivation of virtue."

The pamphlet concludes:

"The Badge of the Society was a square silver medal engraved on one side with S.P., the initials of two Latin words, and on the other side with the Greek initials of the Society watchword. There was also an index hand pointing to a cluster of stars and the date of the founding, December 5, 1776. When the fraternity came north, or early in its northern history, the badge became a gold key with substantially the same symbols engraved. Pink and blue ribbons were also generally used by the earlier chapters. Thirty chapters say that their members generally wear the key; five say, 'not generally'; five make no report. The number of stars on the key differs according to the center of chapter origin. Those in New York took the number of stars that indicated their distance from the Alpha. The numbers seven and nine were supposed to represent completeness. The result is that eleven chapters use seven stars, eight chapters use nine stars, five chapters use six stars, four chapters use five stars, three chapters (including the founder) use three stars, two chapters use ten stars, and one chapter has thirteen stars. The Latin words are also interpreted with a generous freedom. Twelve chapters say *Societas Philosophiæ*, nine chapters say *Societatis Particeps*, seven chapters say *Societas Philosophica*, two chapters say *Societas Philosophorum*, two chapters say *Signum Principium*, and three chapters furnish these additional forms *Salus Patriæ*, *Scientia et Prudentia*, *Scientia et Philosophia*.

"Upon the chief watchword there is general agreement, though a few chapters give a changed termination to the Homeric word. Φιλοσοφία Βίου Κυβερνήτης."

The Sixth National Council, 1898

On March 2, 1898, the Senate met in the Library of the Diocesan House in New York City with President Potter in the chair. Seven Senators were present and two representatives from St. Lawrence University who "were heard regarding that institution."

Fifteen applications were presented. The Senate renewed its approval of those in behalf of the University of Cincinnati and Wabash College, and voted to recommend eight others—Boston, Princeton, St. Lawrence, Chicago, California, Leland Stanford Jr., and Wisconsin Universities, and Haverford College.

At the convening of the Council at Saratoga on September 7, in the absence of Bishop Potter, the vice-president, Hon. John A. DeRemer, presided and was at once elected president. Dr. James C. Van Benschoten of Wesleyan was chosen vice-president, and Dr. Parsons was reelected secretary and treasurer. The roll call revealed the presence of eleven Senators, and forty-eight delegates, representing thirty-four chapters.

Senators Choate, DeRemer, Hancock, Hart, Higginson, Low, March, and Scudder were reelected, and James C. Van Benschoten and Hamilton W. Mabie of New York, a graduate of Williams and an editor of *The Christian Union*, later *The Outlook*, were added.

The list of applications recommended by the Senate was presented and all but the one in behalf of Leland Stanford were granted. In addition an application in behalf of Vassar College, which came before the Council without the approval of the Senate, was granted.

A proposal previously made was passed: "That the National Council recommend as a memorial to Elisha Parmele . . . that the chapters subscribe to a fund, the interest of which shall be expended in the traveling expenses and board of some worthy son of a member of the Phi Beta Kappa, who shall receive free tuition at the College of William and Mary. The fund shall . . . be invested in registered bonds, . . . and be known as the Elisha Parmele Scholarship."

For the first time the method of instituting new chapters was referred to, and the president and two others to be named by him were appointed a committee to guide in their institution.

In preparing for the institution of the ten chapters for which charters had been granted, President DeRemer requested that the vice-president assist the secretary in outlining a method of procedure. They prepared the text of a letter to be sent with the charter, in this form:

UNITED CHAPTERS PHI BETA KAPPA,

Williamstown, Mass., ... 189

To
and other petitioners:

The undersigned, a Committee duly appointed at the National Council of the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa held in September last for the purpose of instituting the chapters which the said Council had voted to establish, in fulfilment of their duty take pleasure in transmitting to you herewith a formal charter for the establishment of a Chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa in
.....
at
to be designated as the.....
Chapter of.....; a copy of the Constitution and By-Laws of the United Chapter; a Model Constitution for such new Chapter of the form prescribed by the National Council, and also a summary statement of the practices which obtain among existing chapters as to selection of members, form of initiation, etc.

With these documents you are fully authorized and empowered by us to institute the new Chapter in such manner as may commend itself to you.

And we confidently hope and trust that this chapter under your fostering care and wise guidance may in its membership maintain that high standard of character and attainment which has characterized the membership of the Society in a long past and which has rendered honorable everywhere the appellation of Phi Beta Kappa.

Fraternally yours,

A new printing of the constitution and the charter was ordered. All earlier charters had been in writing.

A Revealing Handbook

Secretary Parsons continued to work on two projects, which he decided to unite in one publication. It appeared in 1900, under the title *Phi Beta Kappa Handbook and General Address Catalogue.* The earlier pages contain considerable historical information, including the Constitution and By-Laws of the United Chapters and lists of Officers and Senators. The lists of the living members of the fifty chapters occupy pages 19 to 250. A section on "Customs and Statistics" brings the book to a close.

The fifty entries vary from the seventeen members of the California chapter to eleven hundred and nine in the Harvard chapter list—a total living membership of ten thousand six hundred and sixty-five. This was the first inclusive list of members published through nearly a century.

An examination of the lists reveals a total of five hundred and thirty-two women members, one hundred and seventy-nine belonging to the Mu chapter of New York at Vassar, then only a year old, and three hundred fifty-three members of nineteen other chapters, the next largest number—fifty-one—being credited to the Theta of New York at Cornell. The chapters at the six state universities had opened their doors to women, as had those at Boston, Cincinnati, Northwestern, St. Lawrence, Syracuse, and Wesleyan universities, and Colby, Swarthmore and Tufts colleges. Thirty chapters were at colleges for men only.

The replies to the inquiries sent out two years before form the best statement extant of the characteristics of Phi Beta Kappa at the beginning of the twentieth century. Secretary Parsons wrote:

"Uniformity has been one of the watchwords of the National Councils. As one step toward it, the existing customs and methods of procedure have been obtained. Questions were sent out to all the chapters asking the fractional part taken from each class, the college courses that are regarded as furnishing eligible men, the time in their course when men are taken, the method of election, the fees and dues, the meetings of the chapter, the ceremony of initiation or welcoming of the new members, the symbols on the key and their interpretation and some matters of a semi-confidential character relative to the Society. For the most part the chapter secretaries have responded to these multiform questions with charming patience and the result is herewith submitted.

"Good moral character and high scholarship are the recognized foundation qualities for membership eligibility. The question at issue has related to the courses of study in which the high scholarship has been obtained. For many years the election was limited to the students pursuing the course leading to the degree of Bachelor of Arts. When the colleges began to give other degrees the question arose regarding Phi Beta Kappa. After prolonged discussion and a reference back to the chapters for their decision the National Council voted that it is not expedient to grant a charter to any institution that does not have the Bachelor of Arts course, but that it is also not expedient to confine the membership to students in that course. At present a very large per cent, probably ninety per cent, of the membership is from the Arts course. The requirements for the Arts degree are not the same in all colleges, though quite generally Latin and Greek, or Latin and a modern language are required.

"The following statements from the chapters indicate the present situation. 'No distinction is made between classical and scientific courses,' (Amherst); 'Members are elected from the A.B. and the Ph.B. courses, though eighty-five per cent are from the former,' (Brown); 'Men are taken from the B.A., B.L., and B.S. courses,' (Dartmouth); 'Men are taken mostly though not altogether from the A.B. course,' (Kenyon); 'In earlier days at least nine-tenths have been taken from the A.B. course, though now the proportion may be about two-thirds,' (Marietta); 'We take from both the B.A. and B.S. courses, though the proportion from the latter is small,' (Middlebury). The College of the City of New York and New York University take from both the classical and scientific courses. Rochester, Syracuse and Wesleyan elect from all courses. Williams gives only the A.B. degree. The great body of membership in Colgate, Columbia and Cornell, in Rutgers and Union, in Harvard and Yale, is altogether from the Bachelor of Arts course. Some chapters fix a limit in the average of the scholarship mark—eighty, eighty-five or ninety per cent—but methods of marking as well as the requirement for the A.B. degree are not uniform. There is great diversity of method in the selection of Phi Beta Kappa members, perhaps no two of the fifty chapters have the same method, but in all of them the ideals of membership are good character and sound scholarship.

"When the old chapters constituted themselves the United Chapters, they reserved some rights and privileges. One of these vested rights was the power to elect one-third of each class to Phi Beta Kappa membership. But since in the new order they have voted that the new chapters shall take only one-fourth of each class, the old chapters, in the interest of uniformity and fairness and good scholarship, have nearly all agreed to restrict themselves to a smaller fractional proportion, so that now only six of the old chapters elect one-third of each class. In fact most of the old chapters have put a much greater restriction upon themselves. Harvard takes twenty-five or thirty from a class of four hundred graduates, or about one-thirteenth of each class; Yale, Cornell, and the College of the City of New York elect about one-eighth of each class. Dartmouth and Nebraska take one-sixth. Columbia, Syracuse and Williams take one-fifth. Changes are now in progress that will bring other chapters into these restricted ranks. The prevailing limit outside the great University chapters is one-fourth of each class, the limit fixed for the new chapters by the National Concil.

"The time of the election to membership in Phi Beta Kappa is later in the college course than has been supposed. Yale is thought to be the only chapter that elects a considerable number at the end of the Sophomore Year, though two other chapters take a few men at that point in the

course. Three chapters take their men at the end of Junior Year. Fifteen chapters elect about half of their number at the end of Junior and the rest at the end of Senior year. Thirty-one chapters elect only Seniors and usually after the final examinations. In most colleges therefore Phi Beta Kappa is a graduate Society. The trend is away from the original idea of the literary helpfulness and social comradeship of the Virginians.

"The basis of election is the college system of marks. In some colleges the Faculty furnishes, by the hands of the secretary, a list of the highest scholars and if no objection is made to any candidate the list is strictly followed. In other colleges a number, somewhat exceeding the number to be elected, is furnished and the voting body make a selection. In some colleges a nominating committee receives from the Faculty record the standing of the best scholars and recommends a list to the voting body. A few quotations from the chapter by-laws indicate the practice. The original Alpha of Virginia says: 'The names are proposed by a nominating committee of which at least two shall be members of the College Faculty.' Many chapters say: 'The committee borrows the Registrar's books, and prepares a list of nominations,' [or] 'The executive committee nominates from a list of the first third of the class furnished by the Faculty records.'

"As thirty-one of the fifty chapters have no undergraduate body, the election is in the hands of the Faculty members of the Phi Beta Kappa. In the larger places there is also a body of resident members who are invited to participate in the election of new members. Of those nineteen institutions having undergraduate members, six lay the whole responsibility of election upon the undergraduates and in thirteen the Faculty members and undergraduates take common responsibility in the election. Some chapters require a unanimous vote for the election of each new member; other chapters require only a three-fourths vote. The requirement in most of the chapters is between these extremes and two or three 'black balls' are not allowed to prevent an election.

"In most of those chapters having members a year or more before graduation some literary meetings are held. A few chapters say,—'Monthly meetings of graduates and undergraduates are held throughout the year.' As has already been mentioned some chapters have a notable list of literary papers prepared for these regular meetings of Phi Beta Kappa undergraduates. In the larger places it is not difficult to secure able writers and speakers and appreciative audiences. The chapter that has had for so many years the service of Professor Werner, to whom the whole Fraternity is largely indebted for its present prosperity, has held more than thirty notable literary meetings, for which he has secured the

writers and speakers and made all other arrangements. Several chapters hold quarterly meetings and arrange for some paper or address, usually by one of the resident Professors.

"The Phi Beta Kappa Alumni of New York City since 1877 have held nearly seventy reunions, an average of three each year, and heard addresses from the foremost scholars and educators of our country. Phi Beta Kappa Alumni Associations centering at Chicago and Cincinnati are expecting to undertake a similar work.

"Two chapters have no initiation fee, one chapter fixes the fee at fifty cents, five chapters receive one dollar, fifteen chapters receive two dollars, six chapters receive three dollars, sixteen chapters receive five dollars and five chapters receive ten dollars. It is presumed that the ten dollars cover the cost of the key. The dues are usually nominal, depending on the votes of the chapter, for banquet or catalogue or speaker at the public meetings."

This summary by Secretary Parsons is in effect a report on the position the Society had attained through its one hundred and twenty-five years of activity, but more particularly during the twenty years since the movement was begun to effect the United Chapters organization. Parsons, in his twelve years of service, had seen the Society come to a knowledge of its strength. This was evident from the number of institutions which became candidates for charters. During his term twenty-two chapters had been added to the roll.

CHAPTER IX

Decades of Steady Growth: 1901-1922

The Seventh National Council, 1901

THE SENATE MET at Albany, New York, March 8, 1901, with seven in attendance. Only three completed applications for charters had been presented with the five endorsements required: Allegheny College, the University of Missouri, and Vanderbilt University. By unanimous votes these applications were recommended to the Council.

The Senate met at Saratoga on September 11 with ten members in attendance. The principal business was the preparation of a list of fifteen candidates for membership in the Senate, in addition to those whose terms were about to expire. When the Seventh National Council met the following morning, eleven Senators were present and sixty delegates, representing thirty-eight chapters. This seemed a large attendance, though twelve chapters were without representation.

A brief statement from the diary of Colonel William Lamb of Virginia reports: "Our faithful Secretary, Dr. Parsons, positively declined re-election and Rev. Mr. Voorhees was elected in his place upon my nomination." He also said that the candidate had at least one qualification, that only he had been able to tell where the Society's original records might be found. Some of the Senators knew that Mr. Voorhees was the author of the "Historical Sketch of the Society" published in the Alpha of New Jersey catalogue, and were not surprised when his name appeared in the list of candidates for the senatorship. His election as secretary and treasurer was unanimous.

Tellers reported the re-election of Senators Chapman of Bowdoin, Hale of Harvard, Lamb of William and Mary, Parsons of Williams, Remsen of Johns Hopkins, and Thwing of Western Reserve; also the election of Professor Edwin A. Grosvenor of Amherst, President Benjamin Ide Wheeler of the University of California and Oscar M. Voorhees of the Alpha of New Jersey as new members. The three applications recommended by the Senate at its meeting in March were considered and all were granted. President DeRemer and Vice-President Van Benschoten were reelected.

On Senator Lamb's report that Elisha Parmele had died in western Virginia, he was requested to search for the place of his burial, that the grave might be marked.

The Seventh Triennium, 1901–1904

When Oscar M. Voorhees was elected secretary of the United Chapters, he was completing his tenth year as minister of the Reformed Church of Three Bridges, a small village a few miles from Flemington, N. J.

On his return from the Council meetings, the secretary visited Syracuse University and Cornell University, and the headquarters of the United Chapters became established in the parsonage at Three Bridges, N. J. This study was to remain the Society's headquarters for two years. In the fall of 1903 the secretary's ministerial duties were transferred to the Reformed Church of High Bridge, New Jersey, in Hunderdon County about the same distance from New York and only twenty-five miles from Lafayette College. The headquarters of the United Chapters remained in this community for six years.

On December 5, 1901, Phi Beta Kappa would reach its one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary. In anticipation the secretary had prepared two papers, one, "The Fraternity Idea as Developed by our Phi Beta Kappa Fathers," the other Our Phi Beta Kappa Fathers in Public Life." The first had been read before the Rutgers chapter in December, 1900; the second, read in December, 1901, was a first attempt to appraise the activities of the Society's founders.

The Alpha of Tennessee at Vanderbilt

This chapter was the outgrowth of a scholarship society known as Alpha Theta Phi, organized in 1894, "to stimulate and increase a desire for sound scholarship." From its inception its sole purpose had been to work toward obtaining a charter of Phi Beta Kappa by showing that the standard of Phi Beta Kappa could be securely maintained.

The public foundation meeting of the Vanderbilt chapter was celebrated in the University Chapel, December 5, 1901, a date which coincided with the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the Society. The program included vocal and instrumental music, the reading of the charter, and addresses on "Phi Beta Kappa at William and Mary," "The United Chapters" and "Phi Beta Kappa at Vanderbilt."

The Alpha of Missouri at the University

The first chapter in Missouri was organized December 5, 1901, the foundation meeting coinciding as at Vanderbilt with the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the Fraternity.

On May 21, 1902, a meeting was held in the Council room of the University to welcome to membership members of the faculty and citizens who had been elected. "Twenty-seven of the organization and honorary members were present. The meeting was opened by the entrance of the herald announcing the coming of the president. The president, followed by the vice-president, secretary and graduate members entered, and the herald announced to the president the fact that the newly elected members were ready for their initiation." After the initiation the president "delivered an address of an historical nature and the meeting closed."

The plan to hold a meeting in June was carried out, and many others who had been elected to alumnus membership were formally initiated, bringing their number to one hundred and twenty-one. Among the ten honorary members of the chapter was Samuel L. Clemens (Mark Twain), to whom Colonel Lamb presented a key of the William and Mary pattern.

The Eta of Pennsylvania at Allegheny

In the invitation to the foundation meeting of the Allegheny chapter, after reciting their successful efforts to secure a charter, the foundation members stated that "the favor thus shown our College by this ancient conservator and rewarder of scholastic attainment is worthy of celebration. That it may be marked fittingly, the charter members have selected for foundation membership in the new chapter a limited number of alumni of at least twenty years standing whose post graduate attainments eminently deserve recognition." Four members of the faculty were also chosen, in addition to the twenty-nine alumni thus honored. The meeting was held February 18, 1902, in the Hotel Lafayette, Meadville. President Charles F. Thwing, of the Western Reserve University, represented the president of the United Chapters in the formal conveyance of the charter and the founding of the chapter.

An occasion, unique in its interest for Phi Beta Kappa, was the celebration of Edward Everett Hale's eightieth birthday on April 3, 1902, in Symphony Hall, Boston. Dr. Hale had been a Senator continuously from the organization of the United Chapters. Professor Edwin A. Grosvenor of Amherst represented Phi Beta Kappa. He reported that over three thousand were in attendance, that every seat and the entire standing space was occupied, and that four thousand applications for admission had to be refused. "The Honorable George Frisbie Hoar, Senator from Massachusetts, delivered an oration to which Dr. Hale eloquently replied. The spirit of the occasion transcended words."

The *Levant Herald* of Constantinople of September 24, 1900, contained an account of the first Phi Beta Kappa meeting held beyond the bounds of the United States:

"On Saturday afternoon the members of the American College Society, 'The Phi Beta Kappa,' who reside in and near Constantinople, were entertained in Pera by Professor T. H. Norton, U. S. Consul at Kharput, who is spending a few weeks in our city while en route to his post. Among those present were President Geo. Washburn, of Robert College, and Professors Lybyer and A. M. Carter, of the same institution, Rev. M. Brown of the American Bible Society, Rev. Joseph K. Green and Rev. Henry S. Barnum, of the American Mission, and Miss Isabell B. Trowbridge, of Scutari. The Hon. Lloyd C. Griscom, American Chargé d'Affaires, and Dr. Patrick, President of the American College at Scutari, although not members of the Society, were guests of honour. Intertwined Ottoman and American flags and floral decorations in blue and pink, the colours of the Society, lent a very gay appearance to the reception salons. The afternoon was devoted to social intercourse, a musical programme of Turkish tunes and American College songs, and several addresses. Notable among the latter was one by Mr. Griscom on 'The Renaissance in American College Life of the Hellenic Ideals of Physical Culture,' and another by President Washburn on 'The Study of Inter-racial Development in the Population of Eastern Anatolia,' as well as a symposium on 'The Progress of Higher Education in the Empire, during the Twenty-Five Years' reign of his Imperial Majesty.'

"The reunion of last Saturday was the first of the kind ever held outside of the United States. The chapters represented were those of Amherst, Bowdoin, Hamilton Colleges, Harvard, Princeton and Yale Universities."

Colonel William Lamb reported on his effort to find the grave of Elisha Parmele that there was no prospect of locating it, since a barn had been built over a part of the burying ground. Colonel Lamb was assured that Red Bank, the place he had visited, was the site of the home of Colonel Abram Byrd, in whose house Parmele had died on August 2, 1784. The note concluded:

"The kind reception given Elisha Parmele by Colonel Byrd, and the tender care taken of this invalid from New England, was typical of that generous hospitality which Virginians have ever shown to those who come among them and appreciate their friendship and love of home and country. The old homestead and barn at Red Bank were destroyed by Sheridan in his ruthless raid through the Shenandoah Valley and when a new residence and barn were built, the old graveyard was no longer

held sacred, and its bricks and stone may have invited the new location of the barn."

The Eighth National Council

The call of the meeting of the Senate to be held in New York on March 4, 1904, was the first to be sent from the new office at High Bridge, N. J. In it sixteen institutions were listed as requiring consideration. Essential facts respecting all the institutions had been tabulated under five headings: History, Equipment, Finances, Faculty, and Enrollment. This facilitated an estimate of each institution in comparison with all the others. Eleven institutions were recommended for charters.

An application from Western Reserve University College for Women was not considered because of "the close connection between that college and Adelbert College, the seat of the Alpha Chapter of Ohio. The Senate recalled that the Council, by denying a charter to Barnard, had practically established the rule that two charters should not be granted to closely related institutions." The chapter was later so reorganized that students in the College for Women were made eligible for membership.

In the first notice of the Council, sent out in April, the eighteen institutions were named. The concluding pages of the folder contained a list of the fifty-three chapters with the organization date of each. This made it clear that the number of chapters chartered under the new order —twenty-nine—was larger than those instituted under the old order—twenty-four.

The Eighth National Council was called to meet in Saratoga Springs, September 7, 1904. When the Senate met on September 6, only seven Senators were present. Six additional applications for charters were approved and reported to the Council. An application from the University of Illinois, which had failed of approval in 1901 because it proposed to include the school of Library Science, was not given support on a ruling by President DeRemer that it was virtually a new application, to which the six-months rule applied. The Council met on the following morning.

The death of Vice-President Van Benschoten made necessary the election of a vice-president. Eben B. Parsons was chosen.

Before balloting for Senators, Colonel Thomas W. Higginson was chosen a Senator for life. Senators DeRemer, Hancock, Hart and Mabie were reelected, and the following were added: Edward A. Birge, Arthur T. Hadley, John J. McCook, James M. Taylor and Talcott Williams.

When the list of institutions recommended by the Senate was read,

it was voted to take up first the eleven applications approved by the Senate at its meeting in March, in the order of their applications; secondly, those applications which had been approved by the Senate the night before. The applications were considered and charters granted to Smith College, Wellesley College, Mt. Holyoke College, Leland Stanford Jr. University, University of North Carolina, University of Texas, University of Colorado, Colorado College, Ohio State University and the Woman's College of Baltimore.

The committee appointed to discuss requirements for membership "with a view of securing greater uniformity," had been unable to reach a recommendation which "would be acceptable to the chapters already formed." They were, however, "encouraged to think that the time may come when certain restrictions . . . may be accepted by all the chapters." The secretary was instructed to obtain from the various chapters their rules relating to the qualifications of members, and to present the information thus obtained to the Council at its next meeting.

Ten Chapters Instituted

The first of the new chapters to elect officers and members was the Alpha of Colorado at the State University. This had been accomplished in October, but the formal installation was not to occur until June during commencement week. The Zeta of Massachusetts was instituted one day later at Smith College, Northampton, though the election of students was delayed until April, 1905, when Dr. Edwin A. Grosvenor would recognize the chapter. The organization of the Beta of California at Stanford University followed in November, but several meetings were necessary before the first annual meeting in May. A week later, at the State University at Chapel Hill the Alpha of North Carolina was organized, the members of a local scholarship society, Alpha Theta Pi, joining with the charter members in the initial meeting. The formal installation of the chapter followed in January, 1905. In November, the Beta of Colorado came into being at Colorado College, the installation being completed in the following March.

In November at Wellesley College the Eta of Massachusetts held its first meeting and arranged for a formal installation for January, 1905. Then Professor Grosvenor presented the charter and addressed the new chapter and its guests on the history of the Society. A Phi Beta Kappa hymn was sung and a poem entitled, "The Illuminators," was read by President Caroline Hazard of the College.

The Epsilon of Ohio was installed at Ohio State University in December with the formal exercises in the following June, when President

Charles F. Thwing of Western Reserve University spoke on "University Ideals." The chapter secretary wrote that there had been "a great deal of interest manifested in the organization of the chapter, and we feel sure that Phi Beta Kappa will become a prominent factor in the intellectual life of the university. To promote this end we propose to adopt the policy of maintaining a series of public lectures throughout the year. These lectures will be given by such prominent men as the chapter may from time to time be able to secure."

The organization of the three remaining chapters was delayed until the year 1905. The first was the Theta of Massachusetts at Mount Holyoke College, with the formal installation in February, when Professor Grosvenor presented the charter and spoke on the history and ideals of Phi Beta Kappa.

For an account of the institution of the Alpha of Texas at the State University, reference may be made to a report printed a year later. The initial meeting was held in February, at which constitution and by-laws were adopted and officers chosen. Arrangements were made for a public reception of the members. The orator was Senator Charles F. Thwing, who spoke on "The Function of a University in a Democracy."

The Beta chapter of Maryland at the Woman's College of Baltimore, later renamed Goucher College, was organized by the adoption of constitution and by-laws in February, 1905, with the public installation in May. There was an address on "Ideals in a Commercial Age," by Dr. Hamilton W. Mabie, a Senator of the United Chapters.

Thus within a year after the meeting of the National Council ten chapters had been instituted.

The secretary reported in the next bulletin:

"There are now sixty-three chapters of Phi Beta Kappa, a goodly number when we consider how carefully charters are guarded. It is also a matter for congratulation that, by the organization of chapters in the West and South, a more distinctly national characteristic is given to the Fraternity. We confidently anticipate that these new chapters, inspired by the noble attainments of a worthy past, will endeavor to add to the dignity and strength of this, the first and broadest honorary Society of American scholarship."

It will serve to show the spirit of the growing Society if we quote a few paragraphs from chapter reports. From the William and Mary chapter:

"The mother chapter is in a very vigorous condition. After a long sleep she awoke in 1893 and roused herself. Since then she had added to her numbers every year, principally on the side of honorary or distinguished members. Among the recent alumni of the college she has

some members and expects to add several at the end of the present session. William and Mary's annual Phi Beta Kappa celebration is one of the greatest literary events of the year in Virginia. The gathering is always a notable one, and the social feature commensurate with the literary. The address delivered by Dr. Albert Shaw before the meeting of the Society held in Richmond, April 13, 1904, was a notable one, and has since been printed by the chapter. It may be said of the Alpha of Virginia as of Eve, 'the fairest of her daughters she.'"

From Yale: "The attitude of the students in general has undergone a marked change in the last few years. Of late the students had slighted Phi Beta Kappa, considering it suitable for grinds only. At present this ideal is dying out. More men realize the importance and value of the Society. They are beginning to see that it offers advantages which no other society can give.

"As a result of this changed attitude the members are increasing. In 1905 fifteen men were elected from that class. From the class of 1906 there have been elected twenty-nine, while there are thirty in the class of 1907. The number of men trying to become eligible has increased so that the standard for eligibility has been raised."

From Harvard: "Other recent events in the undergraduate life of the Society have been the annual dinner to newly elected members and the annual baseball game with the Yale chapter. Our New Haven brothers may have the satisfaction of recording the score."

"The college library has lately received by gift one of the earliest medals of the society, that of Benj. Pickman, of the class of 1784. It has three stars in the upper left-hand corner. The "index imparting a philosophical design," in the lower right corner and the character ΦBK on the middle. On the reverse are the letters S P and September 5, 1781, the date of the foundation of the Harvard Chapter.

The Iota of New York at Rochester noted the "biennial address" by Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson on "People I Have Met," and also a paper before a special meeting by the secretary of the United Chapters.

Orators Before the Chapters

Other annual orators and subjects were:

President James B. Angell of the University of Michigan on "The European Concert" before the Alpha of Massachusetts at Harvard;

Professor Edwin E. Hale, Jr., on "Modern Standards of Criticism" before the Zeta of New York at Hobart;

Dr. James H. Canfield, Librarian of Columbia University, on the "Unit of Power" before the Eta of New York at Colgate;

Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones on "Walt Whitman as a Prophet of Democracy" before the Alpha of Illinois at Northwestern;

Professor Walter C. Bronson of Brown University on "Fidelity to the Fathers" before the Beta of Maine at Colby;

Senator Edwin A. Grosvenor on "The Evolution of the Russian Government" and a poem by Professor Garret W. Thompson before the Epsilon of Pennsylvania at Swarthmore;

Professor Augustus Tabor Murray of Stanford University on "The Academic Life" before the Alpha of California at Berkeley;

Professor Ernest William Brown on "South Africa; Land and People" before the Zeta of Pennsylvania at Haverford;

Professor R. M. Lovett of the University of Chicago, at the banquet of the Alpha of Wisconsin at Madison;

Hon. John Stocker Miller of Chicago on "The Humanities" before the Lambda of New York at St. Lawrence;

Professor George B. Stevens of Yale on "Student Life in Germany" before the Alpha of Tennessee at Vanderbilt;

Professor Calvin S. Woodward of Washington University before the Alpha of Missouri at Columbia;

Rev. Dr. William F. Anderson of New York, on "Modern Culture" before the Eta of Pennsylvania at Allegheny;

Professor Bliss Perry of Harvard on "The Academic Temper" before the Alpha of Rhode Island at Brown.

The reports of "Chapter Activities" appeared in No. 3 of a new series of bulletins entitled "Phi Beta Kappa Publications," which was begun with the Report of the Council of 1904, and was continued until 1910, when it was succeeded by a quarterly, *The Phi Beta Kappa Key.*

The Ninth National Council

When the Senate met in New York to plan for the Ninth National Council, President DeRemer was seriously ill, and Vice-President Parsons was unable to attend. Colonel William Lamb, though not well, was asked to preside. He presented an invitation from the Alpha Chapter that the Council be held at the College of William and Mary, the plan being especially appropriate as the three-hundredth anniversary of the settlement at Jamestown was to be marked by an Exposition at nearby Norfolk. The Senators present voted to accept the invitation, and later Vice-President Parsons authorized a call of the Council to be held there on Thursday, September 12, following the meeting of the Senate and literary

and social gatherings the previous afternoon and evening. Thus the Saratoga precedent was broken.

The Bulletin announcing the meetings contained detailed information respecting the nine institutions the Senate had recommended for charters.

The Senate met in the Colonial Inn, with eight Senators in attendance. Colonel William Lamb was chosen chairman. The Senate expressed the opinion "that when the Council elects a Senator for Life, such election shall be in addition to the ten Senators chosen for the term of six years," and proceeded to nominate two candidates for the term made vacant by the promotion in 1904 of Colonel T. W. Higginson to Life Senatorship. On motion of Senator John J. McCook, the name of Mary E. Woolley, President of Mount Holyoke College, was listed among the candidates, the first woman so named.

At the public gathering in the College Chapel President Lyon G. Tyler gave the address of welcome, Professor J. Leslie Hall read a poem, the Secretary of the United Chapters gave a historical address, and the exercises closed with an oration by Dr. Edwin A. Grosvenor of Amherst on the Society's motto, "Philosophy the Guide of Life." By direction of the Council all the addresses were published together with the Proceedings of the Council in No. 6 of the New Series.

It fell to the secretary to open the session of the Council because of the death of the president and the absence of the vice-president. At the roll call seventy-two delegates were found in attendance representing fifty-three chapters. The Council was the largest and the most widely representative which had thus far been held.

The quota of Senators was filled by the reelection of Messrs. Chapman, Grosvenor, Hale, Thwing and Voorhees; Dr. Parsons and Professor Werner had declined reelection. Those newly chosen were: Professor Eben Alexander, President Nicholas Murray Butler, President George E. MacLean, Professor Augustus T. Murray, President Mary E. Woolley, and President Charles Cuthbert Hall.

Applications for charters were considered and eight were granted: University of Illinois, Tulane University, University of Virginia, Iowa College, Franklin and Marshall College, Oberlin College, Ohio Wesleyan University and University of Michigan.

The Council was pleased to hear that of the eighty-one Rhodes Scholars accredited to the United States by the elections of 1904 and 1905, thirty-four were members of Phi Beta Kappa. It was therefore resolved "That the members studying at Oxford be encouraged to form a Phi Beta Kappa Association, and to maintain correspondence with the officers of the United Chapters."

The Council accepted a proposal of the Senate by appointing a committee to prepare a design of the badge or key and present its findings to the chapters, and to the succeeding Council. The committee consisted of the secretary, Senator Birge of Wisconsin, and a representative from each of the three older chapters—Yale, Harvard, and Dartmouth.

An unexpected outcome of the Council resulted from a desire by Dean Edward A. Birge of the University of Wisconsin, for exact knowledge respecting the Society's Latin motto, represented by the letters S P on a face of the medal. That all but the initials had been erased from the manuscript was known, but hitherto no critical examination had been made. Dean Birge found time while in Williamsburg to make this examination and came to the conclusion, after a careful scrutiny of the letter spaces, that the first word was *Societas*, and the second *Philosophiæ*, or possibly *Philosophica*.

The resolution of the Council directing the president to supervise the organization of new chapters in person, or "by some member of the Fraternity appointed by him," gave definiteness to a practice which President DeRemer had begun. Doctor Grosvenor had enjoyed the privilege of representing him at the organization of three chapters in New England. He was soon to have the new experience of instituting four chapters on one journey to the Middle West.

The new chapters were organized in this order:

Zeta of Ohio, Oberlin College; Eta of Ohio, Ohio Wesleyan University; Gamma of Illinois at the University; Alpha of Michigan at the University; Theta of Pennsylvania, Franklin and Marshall College; Alpha of Louisiana, Tulane University; Beta of Iowa, Iowa College, Grinnell; Beta of Virginia at the University.

Before the meeting of the Senate was called in 1910, the office of the United Chapters was removed to New York. The Secretary, who had been invited to become minister of the Reformed Church of Mott Haven installed his office in the parsonage at 350 East 146th Street, which he began to occupy on October 1, 1909.

The Tenth National Council, 1910

President Grosvenor had invited the Senators to be his guests at a luncheon at Hotel Manhattan on March 4. Fourteen were present, the largest attendance thus far recorded.

Fourteen applications for charters were considered; three institutions were recommended, three were put over for further consideration in September, six were postponed for three years, one, which had not been pressed, received an adverse vote, and another, from Radcliffe College,

was not favored, because, as the Senate believed, its degree of affiliation with Harvard was such that the Harvard Chapter might extend its membership by selecting students from this related college for women.

The invitation of the Delta of New York that the Council meet at Columbia was accepted, the session to follow a literary and social gathering with the Phi Beta Kappa Alumni as host.

The printing of a bulletin to contain a complete list of the chapters and their officers, and an outline of the Society's history, was approved. It appeared four months before the convening of the Council, illustrated with pictures of members of the Senate, including three who had recently died. On the title page was a portrait of John Heath, taken from a miniature in the possession of some of his great-grandchildren in California. The illustrated article, "Brief Paragraphs in Phi Beta Kappa History," treated the subject of the Society's development through the first hundred years and outlined its progress during the quarter century since the organization of the United Chapters.

In a preliminary report the committee on a standard key suggested both a medal and a key of identical design, the medal to be square, as was the original, the key oblong, as sanctioned by long usage, both to be authorized in three sizes. The inscriptions followed closely the original design, except that the script monogram S P was to be engraved on the middle of the reverse to make room above for the name and class year of the wearer. The number of stars would be three, as on the original medal; seven—the number of completeness; or nine—the number of Alpha chapters at the time of the organization of the United Chapters, as the Council might decide. The Council should decide also whether each chapter might have its name and the date of its organization engraved upon the keys of its members. This design for a key was approved by the Council with the three stars as in 1776, with room for the name and chapter relationship of the wearer to be engraved above the S P. No manufacturer was to be designated Phi Beta Kappa jeweler, but any chapter might enter into a contract for keys for its members. During the succeeding six years jewelers advertised keys of the standard design. Then in 1916 the Twelfth National Council authorized a contract, after competitive bidding, with a fraternity jeweler, all orders for keys to go through the central office.

The gathering in Hotel Savoy on the evening of September 13, 1910, was unique in the history of Phi Beta Kappa in New York. For the first time the members of the Alumni Association were privileged to bring their wives as guests. "As yet membership [in the Association] had not been accorded to women. Hence their presence at the meeting . . . was a decided innovation and added greatly to the enjoyment of the occasion."

The session of the Council was opened, Wednesday, September 14, 1910, at Columbia University. The roll call showed eleven Senators present and one hundred and fifteen delegates representing sixty of the seventy-one chapters. Eighteen had sent full delegations.

Senators Edward A. Birge, Samuel Hart, Hamilton W. Mabie, John J. McCook, Edward B. Reed, James M. Taylor and Talcott Williams were reelected. A. Lawrence Lowell, Clark S. Northup and Ellen F. Pendleton were elected for regular terms. James M. Page and Bliss Perry were chosen to fill the terms made vacant by the deaths of Eben Alexander and Edward Everett Hale. Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson continued as Senator for life.

The secretary reported that the Senate had voted to recommend six institutions in addition to the one held over from the Council of 1907, and that it would place one other application before the Council without specific recommendation. The applications were taken up in order and charters were granted to these six institutions: West Virginia University, Beloit College, Denison University, Indiana University, Washington and Lee University and Miami University.

The new design of the Charter, authorized by the Council, was prepared promptly, and the first to be made effective was for the Alpha of West Virginia at the State University, where it was presented December 5, 1910, by President Grosvenor. On January 20, 1911 Senator Shepardson presided at the institution of the Theta of Ohio at Denison University. President Grosvenor acted also on January 20 at the institution of the Gamma of Indiana at the State University, on May 5 at the institution of the Gamma of Virginia at Washington and Lee University, and on June 19, when the Beta of Wisconsin was instituted at Beloit College. At the institution of the Iota of Ohio at Miami University on June 14, Secretary Voorhees presented the charter and made the principal address. At the commencement exercises the following day he was awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity.

On the report that the Harvard chapter had declined to assume authority to institute a branch in connection with Radcliffe College, on the ground that Radcliffe was not an integral part of Harvard University, and had requested that the Council take favorable action on the application in behalf of Radcliffe, the Council referred the application to a committee consisting of Presidents Charles F. Thwing of Western Reserve and Mary E. Woolley of Mount Holyoke, and Professor Nathaniel F. Davis of Brown, with instructions to examine the relations between the two institutions and report to the next Council.

An important action was presented by Senator George E. MacLean of Iowa as embodying the mind of the Senate and adopted without dis-

sent. It authorized the appointment of a committee of five, "to report to the Senate and next National Council upon the practices, past and present, of the chapters, as to election of members, to recommend standards for membership and to make recommendations upon such matters of general policy as enlarging the influence of the chapters in college life and defining the field of the Phi Beta Kappa in relation to other fraternities."

A volume of notable Phi Beta Kappa addresses having been proposed by the Phi Beta Kappa Alumni in New York, the officers were encouraged to arrange for the publication of such a volume and requested the librarians at Harvard and Yale to act with the secretary in making selections. The completion of the work was delayed and the editing of the first volume was later committed to Professor Clark S. Northup at Cornell.

By an action of the Council the officers were faced with an important administrative problem. If the office was to take subscriptions for its publications, a larger office equipment was necessary. The action of the Council admitted but one interpretation. The editing of a quarterly was necessary and the search for a name resulted in the choice of *The Phi Beta Kappa Key.*

The first number closed with a postscript by the secretary in explanation of its purpose and methods. It bore date of November, 1910, was of thirty-two pages, twenty-five of which were required for the official report of the Tenth National Council. It was a modest publication but was issued in the conviction that its continuance was essential to the development of the Society.

In later numbers histories of the earlier Alphas, which had been requested for a proposed Historical Handbook, were published. Two numbers were devoted to the Mother Alpha, one to the public services of the fifty Founders. Stories of the Alphas at Yale, Harvard, and Dartmouth followed, and histories of other early Alphas were in preparation.

Full accounts of the organization of the new chapters, with helpful illustrations, and other items appeared, which helped make the new quarterly an essential publication.

During this triennium six catalogues appeared, four being enlargements of previous issues by chapters at Allegheny, Beloit and Grinnell Colleges and Colorado University. In 1912 the Colgate chapter issued its first catalogue, a pamphlet of twenty-four pages containing the constitution and by-laws of the chapter, and lists of its officers and members during its third of a century of activity.

The Harvard chapter published that same year an unusual catalogue which had been edited by its secretary, William Coolidge Lane. Holding a position as assistant in the library, he had access to the documents which

the chapter had committed to it and he decided to include many of the documents. The summary revealed that the membership in 1891, including one hundred and forty-nine honorary members, was two thousand four hundred and fifty-four, of whom one thousand two hundred and fifty-one were known to have died, and one thousand two hundred and three were "supposed to be living." The membership had grown to three thousand two hundred and nine, one thousand four hundred and three of whom were among the living. The number of orations published was one hundred and twenty-four and poems, eighty-five.

As the triennium neared its close, the Senators were given a list of institutions which they would need to consider for recommendation to the Council. In considering applications action was first taken upon the request of the revived Alpha of Alabama. By unanimous vote the chapter was recommended to the Council. The group of members of Phi Beta Kappa who were Rhodes scholars had formed an organization and suggested that they be allowed to elect new members at Oxford. The Senate was pleased that so many of the Rhodes scholars were members of Phi Beta Kappa. However, it did not seem wise to grant students who remained at Oxford three years at most power to elect members. Hence a charter was not granted, but the association was heartily commended.

The Eleventh National Council, 1913

The roll call of the Eleventh Council showed eight Senators present and one hundred and forty-nine delegates representing seventy-one chapters.

In an address at the Savoy Hotel the secretary stressed the need of Society headquarters, the increasing burden of his office, and the importance of the creation of the separate office of treasurer.

The reelection of the president and secretary was by acclamation. Dean Edward A. Birge, a Williams graduate, but for many years connected with the University of Wisconsin, was chosen vice-president, and the selection of a treasurer was left to the officers, who chose David Layton, a member of the Rutgers chapter and a teacher in New York City.

Senators Edwin A. Grosvenor, Bliss Perry, Charles F. Thwing, Oscar M. Voorhees, and Mary E. Woolley were reelected. New members chosen were Francis Brown, John H. Finley, Francis W. Shepardson, George E. Vincent and Albert Shaw.

The action of the Senate on applications for charters was presented, recommending nine.

The following motion was proposed:

"Resolved, That in the opinion of this Council the relations existing between Radcliffe and Harvard are not such as to preclude the right of this Council to grant a charter for the establishment of a chapter in connection with Radcliffe College."

This elicited considerable discussion until a facsimile of the Harvard charter, dated December 4, 1779, was produced, which stated that members of the branch were to be "gentlemen," whereupon the resolution was immediately adopted and the charter was voted.

Charters were granted as follows: Radcliffe College, University of Georgia, University of Washington, University of North Dakota, Lawrence College, Pomona College, Washington University and Carleton College.

Under its instructions the committee on the badge or key had reported its action and the new design had been in use fully two years. The action was confirmed and the committee was continued with power to adopt the design of a bar by which keys might be suspended, if a majority of the chapters approved the design which should be submitted to them.

The most important report came from the committee on fraternity policy which was presented by Dean Edward A. Birge. The committee had formed its decisions from replies to inquiries sent to the chapters in March, 1910. The findings of the committee, compiled in this report, eventually became the policy of the Society.

1. MEMBERS: No fixed proportion of undergraduate members was proposed but an average of one-eighth was recommended unless classes were very small, when the proportion might be larger, and smaller still, when classes were very large.

In computing the fraction of a class only those students eligible to election should be included. Students in technical courses, not eligible to Φ B K, should not be considered.

2. ELECTIONS: The election of a small proportion—not over one-third of those eligible—near the close of the junior year was recommended. Only those of exceptional standing who were expected to graduate should be chosen.

3. METHOD OF ELECTION: Elections should be by ballot, by not less than a three-fourths vote; faculty members to be the primary electors.

4. CLASSES OF MEMBERS: The chapter constitution recognizes three classes—those elected as students, those from among the alumni, and those elected *Honoris Causa*. The terms alumni and honorary members are self-explanatory. "Undergraduate elections" or "undergraduate members" were suggested for the other class. This designation was soon found inadmissible and was later changed to "Members in Course."

It was proposed that particular attention should be given to those

chosen to honorary membership, by emphasizing their wider relationship to the Fraternity as a whole, and by providing for them a special certificate. These elections should be considered under special restrictions, a nine-tenths vote being required.

II. Relation of Local Chapters to the United Chapters: The assessment of $10 a triennium on each chapter was deemed inequitable, since chapters differed greatly in age and in numbers. Moreover, the decreasing balance in the treasury showed the need of larger total contributions. A new by-law was proposed headed "Registration and Assessment" which required the registration of all new members at the central office, and the payment of one dollar for each. All thus registered were to receive *The Phi Beta Kappa Key* for one year.

III. Initiation and Ritual: Senator Shepardson and Professor Goodrich of the Marietta chapter were authorized to have a ritual printed and submitted to the chapters.

The new chapters were instituted in this order:

The Gamma of California at Pomona College, the Alpha of Georgia at the University, the Beta of Minnesota at Carleton College, the Alpha of Washington at the University, the Theta of Massachusetts at Radcliffe College, the Alpha of North Dakota at the University.

By reason of distance President Grosvenor was able to be present only at Radcliffe College and at the University of North Dakota. He designated Professor Herbert Palmer of the University of California, a Harvard graduate, to present the charter at Pomona College; Senator Hamilton Wright Mabie to represent him at the University of Georgia; Dean Edward A. Birge of the University of Wisconsin to act at Carleton College and Lawrence College; President Benjamin Ide Wheeler of the University of California, at the University of Washington; and Professor James H. Tufts at Washington University, St. Louis.

The Twelfth National Council, 1916

The invitation to hold the National Council of 1916 in Philadelphia was extended by the chapter at the University of Pennsylvania. Arrangements included a meeting and reception at Drexel Institute, a visit to Haverford College, and final meetings at the University of Pennsylvania.

Five Senators were in attendance and one hundred and forty delegates representing seventy-one of the eighty-six chapters.

The result of the balloting for Senators was: Librarian William C. Lane of Harvard was chosen to fill out the term of Samuel Hart, who was chosen Senator for life. Senators Edward A. Birge, A. Lawrence Lowell, Hamilton W. Mabie, Clark S. Northup, Ellen F. Pendleton, Albert Shaw

and Talcott Williams were reelected. Three new members, Dean Virginia C. Gildersleeve of Barnard College, President Hollis Godfrey of Drexel Institute, and Professor Felix Emanuel Schelling of the University of Pennsylvania were elected.

Before applications for charters were considered, the report of the Committee on Fraternity Policy was read and this recommendation adopted:

"Resolved, That this Council strongly favors a conservative Policy in granting new chapters of Phi Beta Kappa."

Three applications were given favorable votes: Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Bates College, and Knox College.

One other proposal of the committee was passed:

"Resolved, That members of a special teachers' course, or at a teachers' college in institutions having a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa, are not eligible to the Fraternity unless the course or college fulfills the following conditions: The terms of admission, the number of credits required for graduation, the character of the studies, and the standards of the course or college must be fully equivalent to those of the course or courses whose members are eligible to Phi Beta Kappa."

Though the report of the Treasurer showed an increased balance, augmented by $170 from advertisements by fraternity jewelers, a new policy was adopted. The Secretary was authorized, after competitive bidding, to enter into a contract with one firm as Fraternity Jeweler, the orders for keys to go through the central office, and to urge the chapters, by their patronage, to make the plan successful. The contract with J. F. Newman of New York became effective February 1, 1917, and when the triennium closed the Treasurer reported that more than 3000 orders had been filled, the royalties materially increasing the funds available for general purposes.

While the Council was in session, alarming events were occurring in Europe. No one knew how deeply the United States might become involved in the war. A presidential campaign was in progress.

President Grosvenor found it possible to attend the exercises arranged for the institution of the three chapters, to present the charters. The Delta of Illinois was instituted at Knox College, February 15, 1917, the Delta of Virginia at Randolph-Macon Woman's College on May 5, and the Gamma of Maine at Bates College, on May 29.

The statements in *The Key* respecting the need for headquarters brought response from one interested reader. Shortly after the October number was issued an offer came from this member, who insisted on remaining anonymous, proposing to contribute twenty-five thousand dollars, if the members would contribute during the year 1917 the remaining

seventy-five thousand toward an endowment fund of one hundred thousand dollars. The income from the fund was to provide suitable Fraternity headquarters in New York and to help make *The Phi Beta Kappa Key* of wider usefulness to the Society. The Senate, November 15, 1916, endorsed the project and appointed a committee to prepare the basis of an appeal for subscriptions, and another to arrange for an active canvass to meet the conditions of the offer.

War conditions changed rapidly and on April 7, 1917, the United States formally entered the war. It soon became evident that the distractions of the conflict would make it difficult to arouse interest in a subject which did not seem of pressing importance. A few generous subscriptions came in, but the fund did not grow. Some declared that the effort was so out of keeping with the times that the donor should be advised to contribute the amount to some war project. He was approached with a suggestion that the time be extended. This he was unwilling to concede. The Senate thereupon suggested that each chapter subscribe its share—three dollars for each living member—but not enough accepted the proposal and by the end of the year failure had to be acknowledged. This campaign, though unsuccessful, did not dampen the interest of the anonymous friend, for a few years later he made other and even more generous offers which were accepted, and from which Phi Beta Kappa greatly benefited.

Honoring the British Commission

Shortly after the arrival in Washington of the British Commission, of which the Right Honorable Arthur J. Balfour was chairman, it was proposed to accord to him and to his associates on the Commission who were graduates of Oxford and Cambridge, membership in Phi Beta Kappa. It was learned that the members of the Commission welcomed the suggestion. So pressing were their duties that they could not accept recognition offered by leading educational institutions. The proposal from Phi Beta Kappa seemed appropriate since it in a way represented America's higher educational interests.

The William and Mary chapter elected the members and sent President Lyon G. Tyler and the president and secretary of the chapter, Honorable Robert M. Hughes and Professor J. Leslie Hall, to participate in the exercises. Twelve Senators convened in the library of Hubbard Memorial Hall, the home of the National Geographic Society, May 17. These were President Grosvenor, Vice-President Birge, Secretary Voorhees and Senators Thwing, Williams, Pendleton, Northup, Shaw, Godfrey,

Lane, Schelling and Kingsley. When certificates of membership had been signed by the officers of the chapter and countersigned by the officers of the United Chapters, the members proceeded to the MacVeagh residence, the temporary home of the Commission. Academic robes were put on and Senator Godfrey, on behalf of the Senate, presented the members to the representatives of the chapter for formal welcome:

Arthur James Balfour, Chairman, Trinity College, Cambridge; Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, Balliol College, Oxford, Ambassador to the U. S.; Sir Thomas White, University of Toronto; Lord Walter Cunliffe, Trinity College, Cambridge; Ian Malcolm, New College, Oxford; Geoffrey G. Butler, Trinity College, Cambridge; Eustace Percy, Christ Church, Oxford; Frederick P. Robinson, Cambridge; Stephen McKenna, Christ Church, Oxford; Maurice Peterson, Balliol College, Oxford; Walter T. Layton, King's College, Cambridge; Christopher J. Phillips, Cambridge; Maurice S. Amos, Cambridge.

Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, Lord Cunliffe and Sir Thomas White were unable to be present, as they were attending in New York the funeral services of Joseph Hodges Choate, Harvard 1852, who had been United States Ambassador to Great Britain and through all the years since his graduation a devoted member of Phi Beta Kappa, for three terms as Senator of the United Chapters.

President Tyler on behalf of the original Society received the members. They were then given formal welcome by Robert M. Hughes, president of the chapter, who invited them to sign the roll and presented each with a key and a certificate of membership. President Grosvenor spoke of the occasion, emphasizing its importance as welding the two peoples into a common purpose by a bond of perpetual friendship and cooperation.

Mr. Balfour in an eloquent response assured the members of Phi Beta Kappa and the universities they represented of the appreciation of the election and concluded: "On behalf of my friends and myself I beg to thank you for the greatest honor which you could possibly confer, or which we could possibly receive."

The year 1917 was made further memorable by the celebration during commencement week of the centennial of the chapter at Union College. A notable anniversary address was delivered by Rev. George Alexander of the class of 1866 on "A Plea for the Humanities."

Although it became necessary to announce the failure of the endowment campaign, this action by the Senate gave assurance that the Society put patriotic service above thought of its own welfare:

"The Senators of Phi Beta Kappa, assembled in a special meeting in

New York, the 19th of November, 1917, desire to put on record and to convey to the colleges and universities in which chapters are established, and to all American institutions of the higher learning, heartiest congratulations upon the part which they are taking in the Great War. Phi Beta Kappa was born in the midst of the First War for American Democracy and Independence. The Society has come to its fullest strength in the midst of the World War. The colleges are realizing that the war is a struggle for the maintaining of the ideals which they and the Phi Beta Kappa embody.

"Desiring to continue, so far as it is right, the ordinary scholastic order and disciplines, they yet do realize the tremendous fact that to the college youth of the land the war makes an appeal of peculiar urgency. They have given, and will continue to give, of their Faculties and of their students to the great struggle. Their graduates have enrolled for service to the number of many thousands. The popular idea that the colleges and their graduates are unpatriotic is dispelled by the academic and military history of the recent months.

"We desire to put on record and to make known to all institutions of the higher learning our appreciation of their resolute devotion to the cause of democracy, of national and international freedom, and of the rights of man."

After the entrance of the United States into the war the Young Men's Christian Association offered to extend its welfare work to widely distributed army camps, and followed those contingents which went abroad. Among organizations desiring to share in this endeavor was the Phi Beta Kappa Alumni in New York. At a meeting in February, 1918, it decided to invite contributions so that it might send a representative to France. Learning that the officers of the association were ready to appoint him, Secretary Voorhees accepted. His passport failed to arrive and he did not sail until after the Armistice of November 11.

He arrived in England shortly after Thanksgiving and remained for two weeks. During this time he had speaking appointments on an American war vessel in Portland Harbor, at Cardiff, Wales, at Plymouth, and lastly in London at Central Hut. He reached Paris on Christmas and a week later he was stationed for a time at Bourges, where the Central Records Office had been established. A final appointment was kept at Camp de Vours near Le Mans, through which returning soldiers were sent to the United States. When Secretary Voorhees returned, less than two months remained during which to complete arrangements for the Thirteenth National Council, to be held at Cambridge on invitation of the Harvard chapter, on September 9 and 10, 1919.

The Thirteenth National Council, 1919

The Thirteenth National Council met in the Faculty Room in University Hall, formerly the chapel of Harvard College. The significance of the gathering was referred to by President Grosvenor, who reminded the delegates that the proposal for the first Phi Beta Kappa convention had been made at Harvard in 1880, almost forty years before. Then, under the leadership of Dr. Edward Everett Hale, a movement had been inaugurated the happy outcome of which was evident.

The roll call showed thirteen Senators present and one hundred and thirty-eight delegates representing seventy-six of the eighty-nine chapters.

The failure of the endowment fund campaign, though regretted, was not entirely discouraging. Some way would surely be found to meet the Society's need of headquarters. The secretary's report concluded with a reference to the approaching one hundred and fiftieth anniversary. This would offer occasion for a closer cooperation in solving the problems of the Society. "The golden age of Phi Beta Kappa must ever be in the future. May this Council have the vision to plan wisely and well."

Under election of officers, Vice-President Edward A. Birge was promoted to the office of president, and Francis W. Shepardson was chosen vice-president. Secretary Oscar M. Voorhees and Treasurer David Layton were reelected.

Dr. Grosvenor was, by unanimous vote, elected a Senator for life, and Dr. Edgar A. Bancroft was chosen to fill out the term of Hamilton W. Mabie, deceased. The following Senators were elected: John G. Hibben, John H. Finley, Francis W. Shepardson, Charles F. Thwing, Oscar M. Voorhees, Mary E. Woolley, David Jayne Hill, William A. Neilson, and Paul Shorey.

A message came from Senator-elect Finley, resigning as Senator and requesting that Darwin P. Kingsley be elected in his stead. This suggestion in recognition of the value to the Society of Mr. Kingsley's business training was accepted, and he was duly elected.

Charters were granted for Trinity College (after 1925, Duke University), University of Oklahoma, Whitman College, and Hunter College.

The following actions were taken:

1. A survey of existing educational institutions was commended to the Senate in the hope that a report, having the general approval of the chapters, might be presented to the succeeding Council for suitable action, by which applications for charters might be appropriately limited.

2. The fraternity jeweler policy was continued, with an appeal to the chapters to safeguard the interests of the treasury. The use of the Society's insignia on rings, cuff links, and pins was forbidden.

3. The use of the term "members in course" was definitely approved; also, that when such membership was conferred at the granting of higher degrees, this might be indicated by placing the usual designation of the degree in brackets after the member's name in chapter and other catalogues.

A proposal that the William and Mary chapter be authorized to solicit funds for a building as a memorial to the fifty founders of the Society was presented by Dr. J. A. C. Chandler, who had been elected president of the College. This was referred to the Senate.

At the dinner, President William Roscoe Thayer of the Harvard chapter introduced a number of speakers, including Professor Charles E. Fay representing the chapter at nearby Tufts College, Presidents A. Lawrence Lowell and Mary E. Woolley, and President-elect Edward A. Birge.

The spirit of the Thirteenth National Council was aptly conveyed by President Birge in the next number of *The Key*:

"The life and activities of Phi Beta Kappa are to-day in a world whose social principles have radically altered during the brief period falling between the National Councils of 1916 and 1919. No other triennium in the history of our country is comparable with this one in the number and the importance of the changes which have been imposed on Society by the irresistible demands of war followed by the no less insistent problems of peace. We have not the wisdom to forecast the coming changes in higher education, but we are sure that they will be great and far-reaching. In the face of such a situation the responsibility of Phi Beta Kappa is increased; the scope and the significance of its duties are greatly enlarged.

"This was the keynote of the half dozen brief addresses made at the dinner of the Triennial Council—the one meeting of the Council at which there was an opportunity to consider those matters which lie close to the heart of every member of the Fraternity. I would repeat and emphasize the thought as a greeting to the United Chapters.

"The fundamental faith of Phi Beta Kappa is in the inexhaustible value of the accumulated experience of the human race as a guide to wise action in all relations of life. This experience is developed in science, recorded in history, embodied in literature. All permanent social gains grow out of it, are based upon it. All leadership which promises secure advance rests with those to whom the worth of the past is as clear as is the vision of the future.

"But this faith is no mere conservative force, limiting progress and controlling its advance. We believe in our motto; we recognize philosophy as the pilot of life, not concerned to keep the ship in harbor but to

guide it safely through dangerous waters. The problem therefore for us to-day, both as individuals and as a Society, is to make our faith active and effective in the changing world about us. It is the special obligation of each chapter to become a center of that faith in its college—the home of the eager and restless thought of youth. It is the peculiar duty and the privilege of those members who are in daily relation with college students not only to impart to them the knowledge of the riches of the inheritance of the present from the past, but also to awaken in them a sense of its value, to kindle a love for it and a faith in it which shall help to sustain and guide them to wise and resolute action in this day of confused counsel."

The new chapters were instituted in the following order:

Beta of Washington at Whitman College, January 20, 1920; Nu of New York at Hunter College, February 20; Beta of North Carolina at Trinity College, March 29; Alpha of Oklahoma at the University, May 24.

Vice-President Shepardson, by appointment of President Birge, presided at Whitman College and at the University of Oklahoma, Professor Paul Shorey at Trinity College, and the secretary at Hunter College.

A Memorial to the Founders Proposed

At a meeting, on March 23, 1920, the Senate accorded the floor to Hon. Robert M. Hughes and President Chandler of the College of William and Mary, to outline their plan for a memorial to the fifty founders, to be erected at the College. Their request was that the Senate approve the plan and authorize the chapter to solicit subscriptions. After discussion, Senators Thwing, Shaw and Schelling were appointed to approve the plan in the name of the Senate, and to prepare a statement which might be used in asking for subscriptions.

The two main reasons in support of the project were given in the statement by the Senate:

"1. The foundation of the College of William and Mary was laid near the close of the seventeenth century; its English and American foundation quickens the imagination. The second college founded in North America, it was, till the War of the American Revolution and for the years immediately following, a leading force in the higher life of Virginia and other colonies. In that War, it gave a good account of itself, both on its own campus and through its graduates. In the midst of that struggle the 'fifty founders' laid a corner-stone on which our present Fraternity structure was built, and is building.

"2. The prospect of enlarged usefulness of the College has been made brighter through the greater loyalty of its graduates, through appropria-

tions of the Commonwealth and through the increased energy of its officers. With united zeal, a new day seems to have dawned for the ancient foundation.

"And further, that while the Senate is without authority to bind the chapters or individual members, it wishes to assure the officers of the College of William and Mary, having charge of a campaign for further funds for the betterment of the historic institution, of their heartiest commendation and of their best wishes for the success of the endeavor to secure a Phi Beta Kappa memorial and to increase its entire scholarly resources. We believe that hundreds of individual members of Phi Beta Kappa will be glad to give to the fund, both because of the appealing history of William and Mary, and because of the early, intimate, and lasting association of our beloved Fraternity with its history. The College of William and Mary and the Phi Beta Kappa Fraternity are united in a common purpose and in a deep affection."

The officers of the Alpha had in mind a building to include an auditorium for the general uses of the College, a student activities room, and special rooms for the use of the Alpha chapter and of other chapters. A replica of the Apollo Room in Raleigh Tavern was in mind and later was incorporated in the plan of the building. The sum of one hundred thousand dollars was thought necessary to provide an appropriate memorial.

A Triple Windfall

One evening, early in March, 1921, the secretary, upon answering the telephone, met with the inquiry, "Does Phi Beta Kappa still want headquarters?"

The voice was unfamiliar. No definite information was offered and, with a response in the affirmative, the call ended. Within two hours came a second inquiry, "If headquarters are offered, has Phi Beta Kappa funds sufficient to furnish them?" Again a reply in the affirmative ended the call. Before eleven o'clock there was a third call. "If you are interested, can you come to discuss the matter tomorrow morning at ten-thirty?" This resulted in a visit to the office of a construction firm. The name was not revealed of the person who was ready to purchase and offer Phi Beta Kappa headquarters for a period of five years, rent free. Within a few days the offer was accepted. The removal was accomplished during the concluding weeks of April, and by May 1, Phi Beta Kappa workers were carrying out their duties at the new address.

The first announcement of the Society's good fortune was made at a meeting of the Phi Beta Kappa Alumni in New York held on March 18, 1921. The Senate's meeting in December might be considered a formal

opening. To that meeting the secretary looked forward with interest. Would it bring another surprise?

Of this, on the evening preceding the meeting he had an intimation in a telephone inquiry: "What three things does Phi Beta Kappa need most?" The answer was not three things, but one—a secretary on full time. The following morning the Senate gathered around the table in the new Phi Beta Kappa library.

When President Birge invited the Senators to be in order, former President Grosvenor arose to offer a vote of thanks to the donor for the new quarters for the Society. Before there was time to put the motion, the secretary handed to President Birge an envelope. Its contents revealed an offer from the writer to provide such salary as the Senate should decide for a full-time secretary during the period of three years. A committee, with Senator Kingsley as chairman, was appointed to bring in recommendations. The offer was formally accepted and the secretary was elected to a full-time position.

The first mail of the new year brought a third proposal: the suggestion of an endowment in celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Society, to which the writer offered to contribute generously. It was decided to inform him of the plan for raising a fund for a memorial to the fifty founders, and to suggest that his offer be revised so that by one appeal for contributions both objects might be attained. Under date of January 5, 1922, this amended offer was received:

"On condition that each Chapter of our forward-looking and progressive Society through its duly appointed committee shall endeavor to secure from each of its members a pledge to subscribe five dollars a year for a period of five years in order to establish an endowment fund commensurate with the greatness of our Society, and fittingly and appropriately to commemorate its one hundred and fiftieth anniversary, I anonymously hereby offer to subscribe yearly for a period of five years one tenth of the amount thus yearly secured. . . .

"The endowment fund thus created shall be for the following purposes:

"First, an amount not to exceed $100,000 shall be taken from the endowment fund in order to erect at the College of William and Mary a building as a memorial to the fifty founders of Phi Beta Kappa.

"Second, for encouraging true scholarship in the High Schools, Colleges, and Universities of our land, and also for encouraging and developing high character and inspired leadership among our members by pointing the way to this end by systematized practical idealism in ways to be outlined, and perhaps superintended by committees appointed by the Senate of the United Chapters."

CHAPTER X

The Sesquicentennial Period: 1922-1928

Fourteenth National Council, 1922

AN ACTION of the Council held at Cambridge made a meeting of the Senate in December, 1921, necessary so that the chapters might have nine months' notice of some of its decisions. Ten Senators were in attendance. A list of candidates for the Senate was prepared and from the seventeen applications for charters four were selected for formal recommendation.

Plans for the Council provided for the opening session in Cleveland, September 12, 1922. Since President Birge had been elected President of the University of Wisconsin, he requested that he be not reelected. His successor was the senior Senator, Dr. Charles F. Thwing. The other officers were reelected and former President Birge was elected Senator for life.

Virginia C. Gildersleeve, A. Lawrence Lowell, Clark S. Northup, Ellen F. Pendleton, Albert Shaw, Talcott Williams and John H. Finley were reelected Senators. Henry Rand Hatfield, Charles E. Hughes and John Davison Rockefeller, Jr., were elected for a first term.

The applications which had the formal recommendation of the Senate and two previously received were discussed, and six charters were granted: University of Oregon, University of Maine, Cornell College, Davidson College, Gettysburg College and Drake University.

The subject of new rules governing applications, referred to the Senate by the Council of 1919, had received careful consideration and its recommendation came before the Council in the message of President Birge. The Senate recommended so revising the by-laws that the United States would be divided into five districts, the chapters in each with authority to form their own organization and to propose to the Senate one or more institutions within the district as especially worthy of charters. From institutions thus proposed, the Senate would recommend to the Council those deemed worthy of charters. The method required the adoption by the Council of a new by-law, VI.

The report of the secretary included a Phi Beta Kappa census by chapters, which indicated that members received during the triennium were, men, three thousand two hundred and eighty; women, two thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, a total of six thousand one hundred and forty-

four. Of these, five hundred and forty-four had been received into alumni and ninety-nine into honorary membership. The living membership was over forty-five thousand.

The endowment campaign was authorized, with an added objective: to maintain the central organization of the Society, now financed by a special gift. The Senate at its next meeting took steps to promote the general campaign and its specific objectives.

That a new period of activity was before the ancient Society was evident to all who studied the Report of the Council as published in the October number of *The Key*. The new projects looked toward the future. But it also gave occasion to review the past, and to note how the fifty chapters which Secretary Parsons had reviewed in 1900 had become ninety-three, soon to be increased to ninety-nine when the six new charters had been made effective. Alphas had been instituted in twelve new states —West Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Michigan, Missouri, Colorado, Oregon, Washington, North Dakota, Louisiana, Texas and Oklahoma— and chapters added in eighteen others.

The General Catalogue

The great task of compiling the first inclusive catalogue was carried to completion after several years of diligent work. The completed book of 1,506 pages was one of the largest and most complete fraternity catalogues ever issued. It gave for the first time the names of members living throughout the world. The statistical table revealed a total membership on August 1, 1922, of fifty-five thousand seven hundred and sixty, and a living membership of forty thousand eight hundred and thirty. For the first time in recent years Phi Beta Kappa had fairly accurate information as to its numerical strength.

The year 1923 was marked by the visit of the secretary to many of the chapters in the South. On his visit to the University of South Carolina he told the story of a forgotten application for a Phi Beta Kappa charter, forwarded by students in the then South Carolina College, in 1818. Knowledge of this had come recently to the Harvard Library in a bundle of papers relating to the earlier period. The text of the application was described, as were also letters written in its support, one by John C. Calhoun, Yale 1804, then Secretary of War, and the other by John Quincy Adams, Harvard 1787, then Secretary of State.

The Phi Beta Kappa Foundation

A notable achievement of this period was the formation of the Phi Beta Kappa Foundation, which has already been of great value. On re-

ceipt of information that the charter of the Foundation had been granted it was suggested that there be a fitting celebration in New York City. The date was February 26, 1924, and President Thwing was selected as presiding officer, with Senator Finley to receive the charter on behalf of the Senate and the Society. The charter was granted to John H. Finley,



The University of the State of New York

Provisional Charter of

Phi Beta Kappa Foundation

This instrument witnesseth That the Regents of the University of the State of New York have granted this provisional charter incorporating John H Finley, Virginia C. Gildersleeve, Darwen P. Kingsley, Albert Shaw and Talcott Williams and their associates and successors as an educational institution for the creation of funds or endowments for the erection of memorial buildings, and particularly a memorial building at the College of William and Mary to the fifty founders of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, for the promotion of sound learning by the establishment of fellowships, scholarships, foundations, funds endowments, prizes or by any other method which may be found desirable to further such object, and for the encouragement and development of high standards of honor, integrity and character and inspired leadership, including the cherishing of the true spirit of brotherhood throughout our land, under the corporate name of Phi Beta Kappa Foundation, to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York City, with the persons named as incorporators for its first board of trustees to hold until their successors shall be chosen by the members of the corporation with power therein to increase or decrease their membership in such manner and upon such terms as shall be provided for by the general rules of the trustees and with power in them from time to time by unanimous vote of their full board to fix their terms of office and number to be not more than twenty-five nor less than three and that this provisional charter will be replaced by an absolute charter if within five years the corporation shall acquire resources and equipment available for its uses and support and sufficient and suitable for its chartered purposes in the judgment of the Regents of the University and be maintaining an institution of educational usefulness and character satisfactory to them.

Granted January 3, 1924 by the Regents of the University of the State of New York executed under the seal and recorded on their office Number 3316

Chancellor

President of the University

Facsimile of the Provisional Charter of the Phi Beta Kappa Foundation.

Virginia C. Gildersleeve, Darwin P. Kingsley, Albert Shaw and Talcott Williams, their associates and successors, as an "educational institution for the creation of funds or endowments, for the erection of memorial buildings and particularly a memorial building at the College of William and Mary to the fifty founders of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, for the promotion of sound learning by the establishment of fellowships, scholarships, foundations, funds, endowments, prizes or by any other method which may be found desirable to further such object, and for the encour-

agement and development of high standards of honor, integrity and character and inspired leadership, including the cherishing of the true spirit of brotherhood throughout our land."

This occasion, notable in itself, had as a sequel an incident of rare importance. There was an address by George E. Vincent, President of the Rockefeller Foundation, and Augustus S. Downing, Assistant Commissioner of Education of New York made the presentation. W. A. R. Goodwin, pastor of Bruton Church at Williamsburg, spoke in behalf of William and Mary College. Dr. Goodwin laid stress on the difficulties through which the College of William and Mary had passed, the importance of its special contribution through the Phi Beta Kappa to higher education, and the appropriateness of the proposed Memorial to the College and the Society.

Senator John D. Rockefeller, Jr., was present, and at the conclusion Dr. Vincent introduced him to Dr. Goodwin. The events of the evening and the continuing friendship between Mr. Rockefeller and Dr. Goodwin later resulted in the restoration of Williamsburg, the value and importance of which, to the citizens of this country, it would be impossible to estimate.

Promoting the Endowment

Of two extended trips which the secretary made in the late fall of 1923 and the early spring of 1924, he wrote:

"In all the territory south of Ohio into which I have gone, I have met only two members with whom I have had a previous acquaintance. Yet the cordiality of my welcome has been most marked in every place without exception. In two institutions of over one thousand students each, I found not a single member of our Society. But the announcement that the Secretary of Phi Beta Kappa proposed to pay a visit elicited a hearty response. While in no case could I give assurance of immediate action upon their desire for a charter, the plan on which we are working was heartily commended, and representatives of the institutions were confident that under it they would in due time receive the consideration they really deserve.

"Another impression demands expression. In our Phi Beta Kappa membership is a latent force that needs only cultivation and development. There is enthusiasm because of our age and our unique history, a desire to cooperate in the plans for our anniversary, and an assurance of larger and more fruitful influence in the years to come."

The visit in early 1925 to all the States bordering on the Rocky

Mountains and beyond was filled with interesting and profitable meetings, and accomplished much in giving the Society a more national standing. Fifteen chapters were visited in as many States and forty-five visits at other colleges and universities on the way.

An especially notable occasion was the dinner at San Francisco, the first ever held in the city, which was attended by over one hundred and twenty members. The striking incident was the presence of Mary G., Sarah, and Virginia D. Heath, three of the four living great-granddaughters of John Heath, the founder of Phi Beta Kappa. Their presence was made possible by the friendly interest of Bishop Edward K. Parsons, Yale '89. The Misses Heath had with them the miniature of their ancestor, from which was made the portrait which appears in this book.

The sentiment expressed in resolutions adopted by the Association of Southern California at its banquet at the University Club indicated not only the feeling, but also the ultimate purpose of the members:

"Having heard with keen interest of the plans for celebrating the one hundred fiftieth anniversary of Phi Beta Kappa, and with sincere appreciation of the great historical and educational significance of this event, the Phi Beta Kappa Alumni in Southern California express their hearty appreciation and approval of these plans, and their desire to participate fully in the approaching celebration. Therefore be it:

"Resolved: 1. That the Councilors of this Association be requested to coöperate with the officers of the United Chapters in promoting the Sesqui-centennial Endowment Fund, and that they endeavor to enlist the interest of our members to the end that subscriptions shall be secured equal in the aggregate to Southern California's fair share of said endowment.

"2. That this Association send to our anonymous member, whose clear vision and abounding liberality have stimulated plans for this celebration, its sincere greetings and hearty appreciation, and assure him of our purpose to work with him to make the celebration fully worthy of the high character and educational leadership of Phi Beta Kappa."

The Fifteenth National Council, 1925

The invitation to hold the Fifteenth National Council in New York in 1925 was extended by a committee representing chapters at New York and Columbia Universities, including Barnard, and the City College and Hunter College; also, two associations—the Phi Beta Kappa Alumni and the Phi Beta Kappa Alumnæ. The Senate met Tuesday morning at 9:30, with the opening session of the Council at 11 o'clock.

President Thwing opened the session of the Council by introducing

Benno Lewinson of the Gamma of New York chapter, chairman of the New York committee on arrangements, who extended a cordial welcome.

Nine Senators were present and one hundred and sixty delegates representing eighty-five chapters, besides eight representatives of eight associations.

James Rowland Angell, President of Yale, was chosen to fill out the term of President A. Lawrence Lowell of Harvard, and Mrs. Burton L. Maxfield of Brooklyn to fill out the term of Dean Virginia C. Gildersleeve. John G. Hibben, Darwin P. Kingsley, Francis W. Shepardson, Paul Shorey, Charles F. Thwing, Oscar M. Voorhees and Mary E. Woolley were reelected for the term 1925–1931. Edwin A. Alderman, Benno Lewinson and Nelson G. McCrea were new Senators elected.

Six institutions recommended by the Senate were considered and all received the necessary vote: Agnes Scott College, University of South Carolina, University of South Dakota, University of the South, University of Kentucky, Occidental College and University of Idaho.

The census, nearly complete, showed that four thousand and fifty-nine men and three thousand three hundred and seventy women, a total of seven thousand four hundred and twenty-nine, had been elected.

The progress of plans for the memorial to the fifty founders called for a vigorous endeavor to raise, not only the one hundred thousand dollars necessary to fulfill the obligation already assumed, but also the endowment which had been announced as a necessity. Two resolutions were adopted:

1. That the goal of the 150th Anniversary Memorial Endowment Fund be placed at $1,000,000.

2. That the Senate be authorized to employ an experienced firm to complete the fund, if possible before the 5th of December, 1926, the 150th anniversary of the founding of the Society.

Plans for the work of the anniversary year were discussed at a meeting of the Senate held on December 29, 1925. It was proposed to give the anniversary a nationwide significance, the exercises at William and Mary to be held on November 27, the Saturday following Thanksgiving.

The Death of Francis Phelps Dodge

The January 1926 issue of *The Key* announced the death of Francis Phelps Dodge, the zealous proponent of Phi Beta Kappa's endowment campaign. In a brief note his identity was revealed. No member of the Senate had ever met him and his voice had been heard but once over

the telephone by Secretary Voorhees. His interest had been aroused by what was read to him from the pages of *The Key*. The summer before he died he gave one further evidence of devotion by offering an apartment in the house in which he lived as a home for the secretary.

Francis Phelps Dodge was a grandson of William Earl Dodge (1805–1883), well-known philanthropist in New York, and a son of David Stuart Dodge (1837–1921), Yale 1857, who had spent many years in Christian service in the Near East. The son was born in Teaneck, N. J., September 20, 1871, and was at the time of his death in his fifty-fifth year. He entered Yale with the class of 1894, took high standing especially in Greek. Near the end of his first year he suffered a slight accident to his knee, from which arthritis developed. As a result he had to leave college for two years. In 1893 he returned to Yale as a sophomore and persevered in spite of lameness. He earned a philosophical oration appointment in his junior year, and election to Phi Beta Kappa during his senior year. His condition changed for the worse and he was unable to graduate. In 1915 he was granted the degree of B.A. and enrolled in the class of 1894. For about twenty years he never moved from his bed. During all this period he transacted his own business. His philanthropies, besides Phi Beta Kappa, included the Boy Scouts of America, the Girl Scouts of America, and the National Child Welfare Association. He worked through the National Education Association for the improvement of the New York public school system by causing to be formed in 1919 a committee on education for citizenship. He was also interested in the Life Extension Institute, the Art Workers' Club for Women, the Fatherless Orphans of France and the Nacoochee Institute of Santee, Ga. He was a charter member of the International Garden Club; a member of the American Museum of Natural History, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the New York Academy of Sciences, the Botanical Garden, the Zoological, the Audubon, the Concordance and the Philharmonic Societies and the Brick Presbyterian Church in New York.

More than any other one person, Mr. Dodge gave impetus to the continuing effort which has made the Society financially secure.

Meanwhile plans for the institution of the chapters for which charters had been granted went forward. New chapters came into being, Alpha of Kentucky at the University, March 12; Beta of Tennessee at the University of the South, March 16; Beta of Georgia at Agnes Scott College, March 23, and Alpha of South Carolina at the University, April 8; also the Kappa of Ohio at Wooster College, April 20; Delta of California at Occidental College, May 12; Alpha of South Dakota at the University, June 4, and Alpha of Idaho at the University, June 5.

The One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary

The "Sesquicentennial Ceremonies and the Dedication of the Memorial Hall" were held at the College of William and Mary on Saturday, November 27, 1926. Delegates from chapters and associations of Phi Beta Kappa, from honorary, professional, and social fraternities, and from learned societies were present.

The committee of the William and Mary chapter assumed large responsibility for the arrangements, and evolved a plan which proved most satisfactory: dedication exercises in the Memorial Hall, following an academic procession, and a banquet in the College refectory in the evening.

In presenting the Hall as a memorial to the founders of Phi Beta Kappa, Secretary Voorhees gave as a reason for this delayed recognition the fact that not until 1896 were their names published. He gave credit to Dr. John H. Finley for suggesting the erection of a building as a memorial, for calling the chapter's attention to its appropriateness, and to the clear vision of the late Francis Phelps Dodge, whose abounding liberality had been largely responsible for giving the idea reality. He explained that in recognition of this generosity, a room in the Hall had been designated the Francis Phelps Dodge Memorial.

In presenting the memorial, the secretary concluded:

"Dr. Bryan, it gives me the supreme satisfaction of my life, representing these members of Phi Beta Kappa and our honored guests here present, and also the great host of like spirits the world over whose thoughts are with us on this occasion, to place in your keeping and in the keeping of your associates on the Board of Visitors of the College of William and Mary, this Memorial Hall, freighted as it is with sacred memories of those in whose honor it is erected; assured that you will accept our proffer and be happy in assuming the responsibilities that this gift entails."

President Bryan replied:

"Never in its long history has the College of William and Mary been the recipient of a building that is more interpretative of the spirit of learning, more redolent of the past, and more hopeful for the future than this impressive memorial, which, as Vice-Rector of the College of William and Mary, I accept today as a gift from thirty-five hundred members of Phi Beta Kappa.

"Two wars have swept over William and Mary. Fire and poverty have laid it low. The absence of professors and the failure of students have at times closed its doors, and yet the ship built by those young Argonauts sails on. And today, freighted with the golden fleece of pride, worship and honor from college men throughout the whole land everywhere, this

modern Argo, laden with *spolia optima* far beyond the dreams of its builders, has come back to this building of immense impressiveness as to a safe haven. The purposes for which this structure stands make it a lighthouse for guidance and an open port for refreshment from which young mariners in the future shall go forth on ever new quests, yet bound together by that golden thread—the unifying purpose of Phi Beta Kappa, which was and is and will be to make the driving power of college life not passion, or power or pride of place, but philosophy, the sweet and reasonable love of wisdom."

Dr. Henry van Dyke assured his hearers that he counted it "an honor to speak on this historic occasion, and on this historic ground, at the 150th anniversary of Phi Beta Kappa, one of the oldest voluntary associations of American students, for the purpose of scholarship and friendship."

His argument led to the evolution of the teacher in a vital civilization:

"I sing the praise of the Unknown Teacher.

"Great generals win campaigns, but it is the Unknown Soldier who wins the war.

"Famous educators plan new systems of pedagogy, but it is the Unknown Teacher who delivers and guides the young. He lives in obscurity and contends with hardship. For him no trumpets blare, no chariots wait, no golden decorations are decreed. He keeps the watch along the borders of darkness and leads the attack on the trenches of ignorance and folly. Patient in his daily duty he strives to conquer the evil powers which are the enemies of youth. He awakens sleeping spirits. He quickens the indolent, encourages the eager, and steadies the unstable. He communicates his own joy in learning and shares with boys and girls the best treasures of his mind. He lights many candles which in later years will shine back to cheer him. This is his reward.

"Knowledge may be gained from books; but the love of knowledge is transmitted only by personal contact. No one has deserved better of the Republic than the Unknown Teacher. No one is more worthy to be enrolled in a democratic aristocracy—'King of himself and servant of mankind.'"

The poem by John Erskine, inspired by the stars engraved on all Phi Beta Kappa medals, had for its title "Reading the Stars," and concluded,

Man, the old-hearted,
Traveling this pilgrimage,
What shall he say
Of youth beside him
Born to the secret—

Youth my neighbor,
Wiser than I?
Fifty boys
In a dream of wisdom
Building a state?
Boys
In a room candle-lighted
Reading their stars?

The dedication by President Thwing to the Founders concluded:

"Dedicating this building to their memory, we therefore devote it to the continuation of their work in the education of men in search for truth, in love for liberty, for use and not for abuse, in idealism without visionariness, in appreciation of values, timely and lasting, in courage free from rashness, in magnanimity without indifference, in reverence for tradition without undue conservatism, in constant struggle to learn the ever unfolding and ever hidden secrets of nature, in sympathy and altruism without loss of integrity, in the moralities of life, in the service of humanity, in optimism for the long future without self-glory, in the quest to understand the teachings of Christ, and in the desire to heed his commandments, we set apart and devote this building:

"Remembering that we, who thus dedicate the material structure, are yet anew to dedicate ourselves to the pursuit of learning which shall be the mother of wisdom, in a regard for all men which shall unite enthusiasm and tolerance, in a love of God, the Supreme, 'in whom we live and move and have our being,' and without whose blessing all endeavors are vain.

"In this memorial hour and place, therefore, we, by formal act, entrust this building to the guardianship of an historic College, praying ever, that, while it is made the object of worthy care, it shall also serve to remind teachers, official visitors, and students of the richness of the heritage into which they have entered and to inspire them to continue, and yet further to ennoble, the service which their forefathers so well began one hundred and fifty years ago."

This greeting was sent by Lord Balfour:

"Kindly convey my warm congratulations on the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of Phi Beta Kappa. The Society has already been a bond of union among students through five eventful generations, and all its members must wish it the immortality of success."

Twelve replicas of the original silver medal were presented:

"To the Alpha Chapter of Virginia.

"To our two honored Senators for life, Dr. Edwin A. Grosvenor and Dr. Edward A. Birge.

"To the first woman to be honored with membership in the Phi Beta Kappa Senate, President Mary E. Woolley.

"To the one who first suggested the Memorial Hall we have today dedicated, Dr. John Huston Finley.

"To the Chairman of the Committee of the Alpha of Virginia on this historic occasion, Mr. Robert M. Hughes.

"To the President of the College of William and Mary, Dr. Julian A. C. Chandler.

"To the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Phi Beta Kappa Foundation, Mr. Darwin P. Kingsley and Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., whose vigorous effort has brought such a large measure of success to our endowment campaign.

"To the Representative of the Commonwealth of Virginia at this Sesquicentennial, Dr. Edwin A. Alderman."

As toastmaster Senator Shepardson spoke:

"In our company this evening there sits one to whom Phi Beta Kappa is greatly indebted, a man who served this ancient institution as its president for more than thirty years, Dr. Lyon G. Tyler. He established a magazine whose successive issues were eagerly welcomed by students of American history, the *William and Mary Quarterly*. Among the valuable original material which found publication in its pages thirty years ago were the early records of the Phi Beta Kappa Fraternity. These minutes of meetings are rich in interest, both from the viewpoint of history and because of their sometimes quaint phraseology. They begin thus, 'On Thursday, the 5th of December, in the year of our Lord God one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six, and the first of the Commonwealth.'

"The first of the Commonwealth! There is something appealing in that phrase. Whether that commonwealth was to endure was a thing of great uncertainty in 1776. As a matter of fact there were to be years of anxiety and discouragement, years that tried men's souls, before the existence of the Commonwealth of Virginia was made sure. Indeed, before even five years had elapsed, the storm of war so broke around Williamsburg that the College of William and Mary and the Phi Beta Kappa Fraternity both had to close their doors. In the latter case at least there still was declared 'the sure and certain hope that the Fraternity will one day rise to life everlasting and glory immortal.' We are celebrating its one hundred and fiftieth anniversary now. So the commonwealth also lived and now, prosperous and proud in its one hundred and fifty-first year, it will be represented by President Edwin A. Alderman of the University of Virginia, who needs no introduction to a company like this."

President Alderman, who had been requested to speak for Virginia by Hon. Harry F. Byrd, Governor, said in part:

"In behalf of the Commonwealth and its Governor, I associate myself in welcoming here this brotherhood of scholars and teachers assembled at this ancient and fruitful college to commemorate the founding of the Phi Beta Kappa Society and to acclaim the vision of scholarship and love of truth which informed the minds and hearts of those fifty romantic young scholars of William and Mary who wrought so much better than they knew one hundred and fifty years ago.

"The Governor would care for me to express for him the gratitude of the Commonwealth for the beautiful and scholarly sentiment which has moved the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa to erect at this spot this handsome Memorial Building. Those rare young spirits of that far gone time had a vision of truth as something always before them to be sought after, and when found, no one could take away from them. It is therefore a shrine of truth and idealism. In my own proper person as President of the University of Virginia, I have the impulse to bring to the College of William and Mary the sincere greetings of the University and to express sympathy and pride in what it has been, what it is, and what it is yet to be."

As he concluded, Dr. Alderman spoke of more recent conditions in the commonwealth thus:

"Faith in all her people, whether they issue out of the old stock chastened by fortitude and woe, or out of the plain people who fought her battles for her, is now her chiefest passion and their education is coming to be her chiefest concern. Secure in the dignity of a spiritual authority which she has earned, Virginia holds up her head among her sisters even more proudly than in the olden time when she gave rulers and law to the young Republic, for her pride is more completely that just pride which springs out of intelligent devotion to all classes of her people.

"Enriched by the spirit of a gentle civilization flowing about her for generations, and busy with a multitude of schemes for her own social betterment, she will yet not be turned aside from the glory and privilege of sharing in the remaking of the social frame-work and spirit of the unrended country to which she gave birth and which she nourished in its helpless youth.

"There seems to me a certain justice and a certain fulfilment of destiny that in the last great crisis of our nation and the world—the World War—it was a Virginian of the newer age who stood at the nation's helm guiding it through war and toward international understanding in such fashion as to find for himself an enduring place in history."

When introducing President Mary E. Woolley, Senator Shepardson reminded his audience of the change in policy by which membership was opened to women on equal terms with men, and also that their representative was the first woman to be elected to membership in the Phi Beta Kappa Senate.

Miss Woolley's address called attention to the fact that the ancient college at Williamsburg owed its charter very largely to Queen Mary of England, whose name it bears. The idea that women would profit by higher educational advantages grew slowly, and against considerable open opposition, yet it grew, and when women were first eligible they were given cordial welcome.

"I have emphasized what the fraternity has done for women; it is fair to turn the shield and ask what gift women have made in return. It is almost a truism to say that the real significance of this organization consists in the character of the human beings who have been its representatives . . . Already we have our roll of honor. It is a living roll for the most part, including poets and novelists—Elsie Singmaster, Ellen Glasgow, Mary Johnston, Dorothy Canfield, Katherine Lee Bates, Caroline Hazard, Katherine Fullerton Gerould, Helen Gray Cone; servants of the public welfare, national and international, Katherine Bement Davis, Florence E. Allen, Harriot Stanton Blatch, Ida M. Tarbell, Fannie Fern Andrews; leaders in education, deans and professors and presidents, some of whom I face as I speak. No, we are not without our roll of honor, we women of Phi Beta Kappa, a roll that we assure you shall grow in numbers and distinction in the years to come.

"It is not because I am a woman that I foresee an increasing strength in this fraternity, because you have admitted women to membership. In addition to the contribution which they will make to scholarship by their own achievements along the lines of research and creative work—as teachers, mothers, and leaders in education, they will be a growing power among the young people of the country in the emphasis upon 'the pursuit of knowledge and the cultivation of noble character.' I am sure I am not a false prophet when I predict that the day will never come when you will regret the inclusion of women in Phi Beta Kappa!"

Senator Shepardson in introducing John H. Finley advised his audience that Phi Beta Kappas of the early days celebrated their anniversaries with "jollity and mirth," and though the speaker was listed as a representative of "learned Societies," they too at times enjoyed things in lighter vein.

Dr. Finley insisted that his remarks were "unprintable," which was true if the laughter and tears evoked would need to be transferred to cold type. His address was indeed a "recreation to the philosophic mind,

satiate with investigating the various springs of human nature and human actions."

Senator Shepardson spoke of this as "a report and a commission." While we revere the past the commission is "for us the living."

"We are celebrating the completion of a century and a half today. But Phi Beta Kappa is not a thing of the past. It is a living force. It looks forward to another hundred and fifty years, please God a thousand years, during which it shall be a factor in the lives of selected youth, a power in the encouragement of a finer American culture. We have begun a campaign for a million dollars for Phi Beta Kappa. The first part of our program has been completed. We have built and dedicated a memorial to the fifty founders. They did something for us in 'the first year of the commonwealth.' The fifty thousand of us who are living members of this fraternity should do something in the one hundred and fifty-first year for those who are to follow us. I know of no more fitting way to bring to a close the program of this memorable day than by repeating the lines of a Southern Poet which so well state the reason why we should go forward to the completion of the 'Unfinished task' which remains 'for us, the living.'

An old man, going a long highway
Came in the evening, cold and gray,
To a chasm vast, both deep and wide.
The old man crossed in the twilight dim,
The swollen stream was naught to him,
But he stopped, when safe on the farther side,
And built a bridge to span the tide.

'Old man,' said a fellow pilgrim near,
'You are wasting your strength in labor here,
Your journey will end with the closing day,
You never again will pass this way,
You have crossed the chasm deep and wide,
Why build you this bridge at eventide?'

The laborer lifted his old gray head,
'Good friend: In the way I have come,' he said,
'There followeth after me this day
A youth whose feet must pass this way.
This chasm which had been but naught to me
To that fair-haired youth may a pitfall be.
He, too, must cross in the twilight dim,
Good friend: I am building this bridge for him.'"

The Sesquicentennial Triennium Closes

The concluding years of the triennium brought some unusual problems. The apartment house in which the office was located was owned on a partially cooperative plan. The use of the apartment of Phi Beta Kappa for offices was a concession, as all the other apartments were occupied as homes or studios. When the situation was presented to the Senate in December, 1927, Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., generously offered to contribute to the Foundation $16,000 for the purchase of the stock, assuring the Society the use of the apartment as headquarters. The use was continued to the close of the final term of office of Secretary Voorhees.

The closing year of the triennium was marked by the publication of two books under the imprint of The Elisha Parmele Press, both compiled by Senator Clark S. Northup, professor of English at Cornell University, a second volume of *Representative Phi Beta Kappa Orations* in December, 1927, and the *Bibliography of Phi Beta Kappa* in February, 1928.

The effort to integrate the increasing number of Phi Beta Kappa chapters by grouping them in districts had succeeded only partially, as district meetings could be held only in connection with meetings of the Council. The original five were later increased to seven, named the New England, the Middle Atlantic, the South Atlantic, the East Central, the North Central, the South Central, and the Western District.

The Senate, at its meeting in December, 1927, faced with the necessity of suggesting plans for encouraging scholarship under the terms of the endowment, gave to a committee authority to arrange a series of chapter conferences, to discuss and report on a series of proposals. District lines were disregarded and chapters were grouped geographically. Twenty-four were held between March 18 and May 15, 1928; three in New England, two in New York, three in Ohio, two in California, and one each in Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Texas, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Oregon and Colorado.

After giving careful consideration to the strength and standing of the institutions nominated by the districts, the Senate voted to recommend seven for charters.

A hopeful result of the endowment campaign was a marked increase in the number of Phi Beta Kappa associations. Before the triennium closed, fifty-eight were listed. While of potential value to the Society, few were able to obtain many subscriptions to the endowment. The campaign for the endowment was continued during the remaining months of the triennium. On July 31, 1928 the Trustees of the Foundation presented this report to the Board of Regents:

Gifts to the Memorial Building		$100,000.00
Investments	$231,233.50	
Headquarters	16,000.00	
Bank Balance	1,596.54	
Due from Survey Account	1,824.92	269,654.96
Due on Unpaid Subscriptions		35,587.87
		$384,342.83

On the basis of this evidence, by vote of the Senate a formal request was made for a permanent charter, and some months later notice was received that the request had been granted. The endowment campaign ended with a little more than one third of its goal of $1,000,000 achieved. But a sound financial structure had been created, and net resources of about a quarter of a million dollars were in hand.

The Sixteenth National Council, 1928

When the Council was called to order by President Thwing in Sanborn Hall at Ohio Wesleyan University on Tuesday morning, September 11, six Senators were present, and ninety-six of the one hundred and fourteen chapters were represented by one hundred and seventy delegates. Eleven associations were also represented. Following President Thwing's brief review of the recent outstanding triennium and reports by the secretary and treasurer, committees were appointed, including one on nominations. On its report Senator Clark S. Northup was chosen president, and Senator Ellen F. Pendleton, vice-president. The secretary and treasurer were reelected.

The secretary's report, an extended review of the triennium, discussed *The Key*, which had completed its sixth volume, and work done looking to the publication of a history of the Society; the growth of associations; the registration of the Greek letters, ΦBK, as a trade mark for the protection of the Society's badge; the Scholarship Fund, giving a list of all who had held Parmele Scholarships at William and Mary; finances; the endowment campaign; and Phi Beta Kappa headquarters.

The census for the triennium in tabular form was unusually complete, giving the numbers received into Honorary and Alumnus Membership—Honorary, 176; Alumni and Alumnae, 736. The undergraduate additions were: men, 4,855; women, 2,816; total, 8,671.

The seven applications recommended by the Senate were granted, and the new chapters were instituted early in 1928 in this order: The Beta of Texas at Rice Institute, Houston; The Epsilon of California at the University of Southern California, Los Angeles; The Zeta of Cali-

fornia at Mills College, Oakland; The Gamma of Georgia at Emory University, Atlanta; The Gamma of Washington at the State College, Pullman; The Epsilon of Virginia at the University of Richmond; and The Lambda of Ohio at Ohio University, Athens. This raised the number of chapters to one hundred and fourteen.

College honor societies, a subject not hitherto discussed, brought out the fact that there were some fifty such societies in forty different fields, all seeking to find homes in our colleges and universities. By direction of the Senate the secretary had participated with a group of societies in four leading fields in a conference at which it was proposed to form a conference of college honor societies. Senator Shepardson had attended a meeting in Kansas City in December, 1925, and another meeting had been held at Williamsburg during the Sesquicentennial celebration, at which such an organization was effected, six societies being recognized. Senator Shepardson was chosen president.

CHAPTER XI

The Society since 1928

Two related proposals were before the Senators as trustees of the Foundation: one, that the chapters be visited by National officers; the other, that scholarship in secondary schools be encouraged by promoting celebrations of the two thousandth anniversary of the birth of the poet Virgil, which fell on October 15, 1930.

During October, before the Senate convened, Senator Thwing found it possible to make an extended tour of New England, during which he paid official visits to eleven chapters. The Senate, in session late in December, directed that journeys to install new chapters be made occasions for visits to chapters and associations along the way. President Northup, who accepted an invitation to preside at the institution of the Gamma of Georgia at Emory University near Atlanta, was able to visit seven chapters and six associations, most of them in the South Atlantic District; Senator Raymond Fosdick was appointed to act at the organization of the Epsilon of Virginia at the University of Richmond, and Senator Thwing to install the Lambda of Ohio at the University of Ohio at Athens.

Secretary Voorhees was named to install the chapter at Rice Institute in Texas, two in California, and one in Washington. He made the longest tour, being absent from the office from the middle of February to near the end of April. His report, entitled "A Pilgrimage to the Pacific," appeared in the May number of *The Key*.

In preparation for the institution of new chapters a new edition of the Ritual was prepared, containing also an Office for the Institution of New Chapters. For this edition Senator Shepardson, chairman of a committee of the Senate, had been largely responsible. It was the outcome of the extended experience of those who had been commissioned to preside when new chapters were to be instituted. Before the organization charter members were required to submit and often to amend proposed by-laws, so that they were not in conflict with the governing rules of the United Chapters, or of the Chapter Constitution, the adoption of which was necessary. A new edition of a message to Phi Beta Kappa initiates was also brought out.

It was decided to send a copy of *The Key* for March, 1930, to every member. The object in view was to foster interest and cooperation in the Virgilian bimillennium through which the Society desired to encourage

scholarly ideals in many high and preparatory schools. In this the active assistance of the American Classical League was assured. For this issue President Northup wrote the opening article, "A Call to the Colors," and the secretary another, giving details of a plan for commemorating the bimillennium. The plan was adopted to offer to approximately 600 schools proposing to celebrate the millennium members of Phi Beta Kappa who would make the principal addresses. Celebrations were held in 422 schools located in forty-six states. To these were sent 337 speakers, sixty-three of whom spoke before more than one school. Three hundred and ten schools reported a total attendance of 288,700.

Anniversaries at Brown and at Yale

The second year of the triennium was marked by two anniversaries, the Centennial of the Alpha of Rhode Island at Brown, in September, and the Sesquicentennial of the Alpha of Connecticut at Yale in December, 1930.

The Alpha of Rhode Island had been organized in 1830. Saturday, September 27, was selected for the anniversary. Exercises were held in the Chapel, Sayles Hall, following an academic procession in which President Northup, Secretary Voorhees, and representatives from fifty-three chapters took part. As Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes, the president of the chapter, was to give the historical address, the vice-president, Professor Albert K. Potter, presided. The poem, entitled "A Hundred Years," read by Dr. Henry R. Palmer, was followed by Chief Justice Hughes's address, in which were outlined the beginnings and progress of the Alpha through the century.

Preceding the banquet in the Biltmore Hotel, members and delegates were privileged to attend an initiation at which seven were accorded honorary membership and two graduates admitted to alumni membership at an interesting ceremony in which the Chief Justice presided.

The Proceedings of the celebration, with a group of historical documents relating to the founding of the Alpha and a catalogue of the members, appeared in 1932 in a handsome volume, *A Century of Scholars.*

The Alpha of Connecticut, whose foundation meeting had been held on November 13, 1780, chose December 5 as the day for its sesquicentennial celebration exercises. At a special convocation in Sprague Memorial Hall, with the president of the University, Dr. James Rowland Angell presiding, Professor William Lyon Phelps read a poem. The address was by Dr. Edgar S. Furniss, Dean of the Yale Graduate School, on "The Problem of the College in an Age of Specialization."

Secretary Voorhees Retires to Become Historian of the Society

The Senate, aware that an adequate history of the Society could only be written if Secretary Voorhees was relieved of routine responsibilities, accepted his suggestion that he retire at the close of the term. It was then proposed that the office of historian be recommended to the Council. At the secretary's suggestion it was decided to seek some member especially qualified for the office, that he might, as assistant secretary for a year, become familiar with its many duties. The selection was made of William A. Shimer, Ph.D., Harvard, an assistant professor at Ohio State. Dr. Shimer came to New York in September, 1930 and served until the Council of 1931, when he was chosen secretary. The Council created the office of historian, and selected Mr. Voorhees.

The past fifteen years (1930–1945) have been marked by developments which are evidence of the strength and vitality of the one-hundred-and-sixty-eight-year-old Society. Although the period was one of depression, instability, and war, the United Chapters founded nineteen new chapters, launched two new publications, strengthened its procedures for the investigation of institutions for charters, revised its constitution and by-laws, established fifty additional graduate associations, and cooperated in the organization and development of the Phi Beta Kappa Associates.

Current Publications of the Society

During his assistantship Dr. Shimer prepared a proposal for the establishment of a scholarly and literary magazine.

When the proposal for *The American Scholar* reached the Council, it came with the approval of several leading members of the Society with whom the new secretary had conferred. First consultant was Will D. Howe, an editor and director of Charles Scribner's Sons, who suggested that John H. Finley be included in ensuing discussions. Following a luncheon conference, the three decided to invite John Erskine, Christian Gauss, Alvin S. Johnson, Adam Leroy Jones, J. Herman Randall, Jr., and Frederick J. E. Woodbridge to dine with them at the Harvard Club, May 11, 1931, to consider the desirability of undertaking the publication of a scholarly magazine. There the name, *The American Scholar*, suggested by John Erskine, was unanimously accepted, and agreement was reached that those present would serve on the editorial board and actually assist in determining policies, in selecting subjects and authors, and in reading and approving manuscripts of articles. As the group was leaving the room, Dr. Finley exclaimed: "This is a second Raleigh Tavern!" The plan was

adopted by the Council in September and the first issue appeared in January, 1932.

The secret of the magazine's quality lay in its editorial policy of group deliberation and judgment. The board, with remarkable regularity in attendance, met three times each year for a long evening of discussion. More than 90 per cent of the magazine's articles were written on invitation by the board after the subject and author had been considered and approved by its members. All articles were invited subject to approval by at least two members of the board.

In addition to those who participated in the founding meeting, the following have served on the editorial board: Harry Woodburn Chase, Ada L. Comstock, Dumas Malone, William Allan Neilson, Harry Allen Overstreet, Burton E. Livingston, Archibald MacLeish, Irita Van Doren, John Bakeless, Crane Brinton, Irwin Edman, Mary K. Simkhovitch, Ruth Benedict, James M. Landis, Henry S. Commager, Henry Hazlitt, Harlow Shapley, John W. Nason, Wendell Willkie, R. L. Duffus, Max Lerner, Paul Robeson, and Sumner Welles. The assistant editor during eleven years of this period was Ruth E. Campbell. The present editorial assistant is Celia Lewis.

The primary purpose of *The American Scholar* was to encourage a continuing liberal education among college graduates. In spite of depression, inadequate financial resources, and war, the magazine won a substantial number of subscribers, of whom a tenth were not members of Phi Beta Kappa. It is now self-supporting.

However, as the membership of Phi Beta Kappa grew—reaching the 90,000 mark in 1944—it became increasingly evident that some membership publication was needed to succeed the discontinued *Phi Beta Kappa Key* in support of *esprit de corps* in the chapters and the membership at large. In 1934 the Council approved the publication of *The Phi Beta Kappa Annals.* Its format, however, proved expensive and only one issue appeared. In December, 1935, the Senate approved plans for the publication of an informal news quarterly to be known as *The Key Reporter.* The first three issues appeared in magazine format. With the fourth issue a news-sheet format was adopted which is still in use. The quarterly has presented news of chapters and associations, the United Chapters, individual members, and interesting developments in education. In addition it maintains a service for unemployed members of the Society. Through the "Know of an Opening Column?" and through special items members have been given opportunity to find employment with Army, Navy, and government war services. The secretary served as editor of *The Key Reporter* until 1940, when his assistant, Dorothy E. Blair, was appointed. She served until her resignation in 1944. After the

interim editorship of Lydia Bresh, the present editor, Hal March, assumed office.

In April, 1933, a reference work, Φ B K *Laws and Practices,* was published for officers and chapters. The 160-page book was based upon the secretary's study of the constitutions, laws and actual practices of the 119 chapters in existence at that time.

Addresses before Recent Councils

The Councils of 1931 to 1940 were largely occupied with questions of general policy and constitutional reform, but they also held general public meetings. In 1931 a meeting was devoted to four Phi Beta Kappa anniversaries. Secretary Voorhees spoke on the fiftieth anniversary of the convention at Cambridge which inaugurated the movement for the United Chapters. Professor Hollon A. Farr of Yale spoke of the Yale Sesquicentennial recently celebrated, and Edmund A. Whitman, Harvard '81, on "Latter-Day Heroes." In a paper entitled "Wars of the Greeks at Brown," Professor William T. Hastings gave an account of the stormy weather encountered by the Alpha of Rhode Island at its founding in 1830.

In 1934 there were addresses by Dr. Aydelotte on "Selecting Students for Φ B K," President Robertson on "Selecting Colleges for Φ B K," and Dean Pound on "Principles of Φ B K Organization." In 1937 the Council heard addresses on "The South in American Achievement" by Dumas Malone, on "Research and Reality" by Professor H. W. Odum, on "Higher Education in the South" by President McCain, and on "An Outsider Looks at Education" by John Kirkland Clark. In 1940, at San Francisco, there were a series of addresses on the development of culture in the West and a symposium on "The Liberal Arts and Sciences in American Education."

The Committee on Qualifications

"To make a study of the criteria and methods whereby new charters shall be granted and members elected" was the purpose for which the Senate created the special Committee on Criteria and Methods on December 20, 1930. To the committee the Senate appointed eight leading educators: Frank Pierrepont Graves, chairman, Frank Aydelotte, George H. Chase, Raymond B. Fosdick, Adam Leroy Jones, Margaret S. Morriss, Ellen F. Pendleton, and David A. Robertson.

The special committee performed the first part of its function when the Council of 1931 adopted its recommendation for the appointment of

a standing Committee on Qualifications to investigate and select institutions for new chapters. This proved to be one of the most important steps ever taken by Phi Beta Kappa; for it eliminated inequalities of procedure, regional standards and competition, and unseemly efforts to influence the voting of chapters. The second task of the Committee was subsequently assigned to a new Committee on Methods of Election.

Criticism of the current method of selecting institutions for charters—nomination of two institutions by each district each triennium—lay behind the creation of the Committee on Qualifications. In June, 1928, the Annual Meeting of the Brown Chapter approved a recommendation of its Committee on New Chapters that the Alpha "formally declare its dissatisfaction with the present system . . . and its belief that a special board or commission, technically expert, should be constituted to investigate and report on applying institutions." The New England District, in October, 1929, created such a "commission," in designating two members of its Executive Committee to visit Wheaton College and make a report. These and similar acts and opinions prompted the action by Senate and Council.

The Committee on Qualifications consists of six members, three elected each triennium for terms of six years. It is the function of the Committee to submit to the Senate data and recommendations concerning:

a. Any institution found qualified for the establishment of a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa.

b. Any institution in which a chapter is established but which is found to have lost certain of its qualifications.

c. Any chapter found to have disregarded its charter.

d. Any other matter concerning the status and practices of any institution or chapter which is found to place in jeopardy the Society's ideals of scholarship and character or the significance of membership.

Thus the authority of the United Chapters to investigate an institution or chapter after a charter had been granted has been clarified. This power has been used in a few instances of alleged political interference and deterioration of standards, but in every case remedial measures were taken before the suspension of the charter or other penalty was recommended.

The first members of the Committee on Qualifications were David A. Robertson, chairman, Frank Aydelotte, Guy Stanton Ford, Theodore H. Jack, Adam Leroy Jones, and Henry Suzzallo. Others who have served on the Committee are George H. Chase, Frank P. Graves, Charles B. Lipman, Raymond Walters, and George A. Works. In 1941 the Senate elected Theodore H. Jack to the chairmanship.

From 1931 to 1942, when war conditions compelled the Committee to postpone further studies of colleges and universities, approximately 250

institutions had requested consideration, and 86 had been carefully investigated, with the preparation of voluminous written reports and personal visits by members of the Committee or occasionally by an inspector designated by the committee. Of these, 20 had been recommended to the Senate and Council for charters, all of which eventually were granted.

The Committee on Qualifications set up no arbitrary tests of eligibility for a college. It assiduously avoided all tendencies to become an accrediting agency. As Chairman Robertson was wont to say, they looked not for minimum but for maximum standards. The Committee made a comparative investigation of all colleges and universities not sheltering chapters, especially the 125 such institutions on the approved list of the Association of American Universities, and recommended each triennium the few found to stand highest in respect mainly to work in the fields of the liberal arts and sciences. Much weight was given to the records of the graduates of a college, especially those who did work in the better graduate schools.

The Councils of 1934, 1937, and 1940 approved, on the recommendation of the Committee on Qualifications, ratified by the Senate, the award of charters to the following institutions: 1934: Connecticut College for Women, Florida State College for Women, University of Utah; 1937: Birmingham-Southern College, University of Buffalo, University of Florida, George Washington University, Pennsylvania State College, Reed College, College of St. Catherine, Washington and Jefferson College; 1940: Albion College, Bucknell University, Catholic University of America, University of Denver, Elmira College, Milwaukee-Downer College, Wake Forest College, Wofford College.

The Council of 1934 approved the formation of a section of the University of Pennsylvania chapter for the College for Women, and of the University of North Carolina for its Woman's College at Greensboro. In 1937 the Council granted charters to Randolph-Macon College in Ashland and to the University of California at Los Angeles, permitting the former sections of chapters to become independent units. The revised constitution and by-laws of the United Chapters, adopted at that same Council in 1937, specified that the establishment of sections should require the recommendation of the Committee on Qualifications after an examination similar to that made for new chapters.

The Revised Constitution

The Senate submitted to the Council of 1934 a proposed complete revision of the constitution and by-laws of the United Chapters. After much discussion by the Council, the proposals were referred to an *ad*

interim Committee on Revision of the Constitution and By-Laws, which was to include one member designated by each of the seven districts. The revision submitted to the Council at Atlanta in 1937 and approved after amendment contained the following principal innovations:

1. The proportion of the graduating class that may be elected to membership was reduced from 25 to 15 per cent.

2. A student to be eligible for election must have pursued a course of study definitely liberal in character; that is, "studies designed principally for a knowledge or understanding or appreciation of the natural and social world in which we live, as contrasted with training intended principally to develop skill or vocational techniques."

3. In selecting students for membership, chapters may take into consideration "the results of such methods as honors work and comprehensive examinations and also the opinions of teachers and administrative officers concerning the character, capacity, scholarly achievements, breadth of interest, and general promise."

4. The number of honorary and alumni members should be "strictly limited by the chapter by-laws," and only persons should be eligible who "by contributions in the fields of humane sciences and letters or by works of pure literature have given clear evidence of the possession of distinguished scholarly capacities."

5. If it appears that "a chapter has disregarded any of the provisions of its charter or that there has been serious deterioration in the sheltering institution" the Council, under proper safeguards with respect to inquiry and opportunity to be heard, and upon a substantial majority vote by the chapters, may restrict the privilege of such chapter to elect members, or may amend or suspend its charter."

6. Senators were to be nominated by a committee of the Council and by the districts instead of by the Senate itself, and were to be geographically representative. In order to promote direct chapter representation in the Senate, the seven district conferences were given the privilege of being represented by one Senator each, candidates to be nominated by them every six years for election by the Council.

7. The graduate associations were authorized to receive charters from the Council and each "accredited" group was permitted to send one delegate to represent it in the Council, and an additional delegate if its membership numbered 200 or more.

8. The president of the United Chapters was restricted to one three-year term of service, and the secretary was designated as the executive officer to serve without term. The Senate was given power *ad interim* to declare the office of the secretary or of the treasurer vacant and to fill all vacancies until the next triennial session of the Council.

9. A new form of chapter charter and an association charter were adopted.

The form for the association charter is shown in the illustration of the charter issued to the Alpha Association of New York, the first association to receive a charter as it had been the first to be organized.

Other Action by Recent Councils

The Council of 1934 voted to pay the expenses of one "active resident delegate" of each chapter to meetings of the Council, and in the revised constitution of 1937 was included the creation of a Council Fund for this purpose, by a fifty-cent levy on each chapter for each new member. The Council of 1937 elected Senator Mary E. Woolley Senator for life, a practice ended with the adoption of the new constitution. The Council of 1940 declined to approve a proposed initiation ritual. It instructed the Council Committee on the History to submit its completed report to the Senate, and empowered the Senate to take appropriate action. It adopted a resolution opposing "the assumption for Phi Beta Kappa, without action of the Council, of any function not directly associated with the Society's traditional purpose of recognizing and encouraging scholarship." It also clarified the responsibility of the districts for cooperation with the Committee on Qualifications and the Senate in recommending to the Council the granting of charters, by voting that each district appoint a committee to investigate and report on institutions, and that district reports be considered by the Committee on Qualifications.

Problems still under study by the Society are in charge of continuing committees on The Status of the Liberal Arts and Sciences, The Policy of Phi Beta Kappa, and Methods of Election.

In 1935 the American Association for the Advancement of Science invited the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa to sponsor an annual address in connection with the Association's large winter meetings. The United Chapters accepted the invitation and agreed with the Association that the lectures should further the general tendencies of the period toward greater unity in knowledge and national culture, should symbolize Phi Beta Kappa's recognition of science as an essential part of liberal culture, and should encourage the growing interest of scientists in the humanities. The lecture was to be by a non-scientist on a subject from some other realm than science.

Phi Beta Kappa has been represented by the following scholars:

William Allan Neilson, "The American Scholar Today," St. Louis, 1935;

James Rowland Angell, "The Scholar and the Specialist," Atlantic City, 1936;

George Lyman Kittredge, "Shakespeare and the Critics," Indianapolis, 1937;

Frank Pierrepont Graves, "Is Education a Science?" Richmond, 1938;

Marjorie Hope Nicolson, "Science and Literature," Columbus, 1939;

Walter Lippmann, "Education vs. Western Culture," Philadelphia, 1940;

Christian Gauss, "Can We Educate for Democracy?" Dallas, 1941.

In 1942 Hu Shih, Phi Beta Kappa member and Chinese Ambassador to the United States, was invited to give the Phi Beta Kappa address and accepted. However, the Association cancelled its meeting in conformance with the request of the Office of Defense Transportation. The address in 1944 at Cleveland was given by Harlow Shapley, director of the Harvard Observatory, and was entitled, "A Design for Fighting." It broke the established precedent of inviting a non-scientist to give the lecture. Dr. Shapley is president of Sigma Xi.

The Mary Isabel Sibley Fellowship was established in 1936 through a bequest by Isabelle Stone of the Wellesley chapter. Miss Stone, a teacher, willed the residue of her estate, amounting to nearly $25,000, as a memorial to her mother. The fellowship, with a stipend of $1,500, is awarded biennially to women qualified to carry on advanced study, and alternately in the fields of Greek and French literature and culture. These awards were made by a special committee consisting of Marjorie Hope Nicolson, Mary E. Woolley, and Guy Stanton Ford.

In 1939 the Senate approved the suggestion that a directory of members be published to supplement the *Phi Beta Kappa Catalogue* of 1922. The *Phi Beta Kappa Directory,* 1941, is a volume of 1,701 pages including the names of the 113,500 members elected from 1776 to 1940, with such biographical data as were submitted or were available on the approximately 90,000 living members. The volume also contains forty pages of introductory material, including a brief history of the Society, facts concerning contemporary Phi Beta Kappa, names of officers and Senators, and a list of chapters and associations.

Finances of the United Chapters

The continuing constrictions of the general depression in the '30's had their effect on the financial resources of the United Chapters. The Phi Beta Kappa Foundation's investments of approximately $264,000 brought

a decreasing yield. Especially certain mortgage certificates on real estate shared the common fate of such securities in those days. When the government increased the price of gold, the Society accepted a loss in royalty on the Phi Beta Kappa keys in order not to raise the cost to students, whose individual resources were also suffering from the depression. Decreasing enrollments resulted in fewer elections to membership and therefore fewer registration fees.

The persistence of the financial crisis, unanticipated at the time of the founding of the Phi Beta Kappa magazines, meant less income from advertising and subscriptions than had been expected. Also certain expenditures of the United Chapters increased during this period—caused by the editing of the periodicals, the new method of investigating institutions for charters, the studies incident to a revision of the laws, etc. In order to carry this work through, certain changes were effected in the management of the office. Instead of apportioning activities and expenditures for specific projects, rents, salaries, and the like, between the United Chapters and the Foundation, the Senate and Trustees voted to make the Foundation solely responsible for the investment of trust funds, from the income of which grants in aid would be made to the United Chapters. All costs of activities, salaries, rents, and other expenditures should be entered only on the books of the United Chapters and reported regularly to the Senate and Council. The United Chapters would furnish the Foundation without charge office space, clerical service, officers' service, and other administrative requirements.

A financial officer of Princeton University and representatives of the Russell Sage Foundation were invited to study the financial and office management, and through Owen D. Young, in whose office the executive committee generally met in those days, the service of an excellent firm of auditors was obtained. Triennial and annual budgeting was introduced. David Layton, elected treasurer in 1913, when the office was separated from the secretaryship, had carried the whole burden for many years, at first without compensation. He retired in 1934 with expressions of warm appreciation of his devoted service. With his retirement the practice was begun of electing as treasurer a prominent business man, who would serve without salary and supervise the work of a salaried assistant treasurer. The first treasurer under this plan was W. Randolph Burgess, Brown 1912, elected in 1934 when deputy governor of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. He was succeeded in 1937 by Whitney H. Shepardson, Colgate 1910, former Rhodes scholar, later director of the General Education Board, and when elected treasurer, vice-president of the International Railways of Central America. In 1940 George Dana Graves, Yale 1899, vice-president of the Chase National

Bank, became treasurer. These men have served also as treasurers of the Foundation and supervised the management of its securities. The first assistant treasurer, Miss Hope Shelley, was succeeded by Albert B. Tabor, Jr., Brown 1936; his successor is Mrs. Levia P. Kwerel, Hunter 1940.

Special funds were raised from time to time to meet anticipated deficits. In 1938 the Senate authorized a financial appeal to the general membership.

An all-membership campaign was launched at a dinner February 20, 1939, at the Hotel Astor in New York City, attended by 3,100 members and guests. John H. Finley, national chairman of the campaign, of which Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes was honorary chairman, was toastmaster of the dinner. James Rowland Angell was moderator of a round-table discussion of the subject, "The Crisis of the Humanities in the Fight for Intellectual Freedom," participated in by Christian Gauss, Charles Evans Hughes III, Marjorie Nicolson, and Roscoe Pound. Dorothy Thompson spoke and Joseph Bentonelli sang. Clifton Fadiman conducted a variation of "Information, Please" in which he "examined" Harry Woodburn Chase, Charles Evans Hughes, Jr., Ralph W. Sockman, and Mark Sullivan. The enthusiasm and mirth of this great assembly were evident even to the large radio audience and did much to assure members and others that Phi Beta Kappa was alive to the vital issues of the day.

Two later dinners were held at the Hotel Astor with attendances of 1,600 and 2,400, respectively. The program of the Second Dinner, held February 20, 1940, included Frank Pierrepont Graves, John H. Finley, Dave Hennen Morris, Marjorie Hope Nicolson, and a symposium on "The Individual and the State" participated in by Glenn Frank, Thurman W. Arnold, and Clarence K. Streit, with George V. Denny, Jr., as moderator. Paul Robeson sang and ten-year-old Camilla Wicks played the violin. The Third Dinner, held February 18, 1941, was addressed by four representatives of the United States foreign service: William C. Bullitt, Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, Captain John A. Gade, and Herbert C. Pell, on the subject, "Report to America." The chairman was Dave Hennen Morris, the toastmaster Marjorie Hope Nicolson, and the dinner committee included James Rowland Angell, Henry Seidel Canby, and Olga Samaroff Stokowski.

The endowment campaign ended with only $80,000 subscribed toward the original goal of $300,000.[1] It was evident that other resources would have to be found. The answer appeared on February 20, 1940, when, at the suggestion of Hugh McK. Landon, Harvard 1892, a small

[1] The statement for June 30, 1945, shows a balance in the Foundation's Principal Account of $329,117.42.

group of members met at the Harvard Club in New York City and organized the "Phi Beta Kappa Associates." Voluntarily pledging their strength in behalf of Phi Beta Kappa, the group provided for the founding of an organization of members that would contribute $100 a year for a period of ten years and would take an active interest in forwarding the purposes of the society of scholars. Within three years the successive presidents—Arthur T. Vanderbilt, Dave Hennen Morris, Gano Dunn, Mrs. Adam Leroy Jones—with the assistance of the United Chapters office, had completed the full permissible membership of two hundred. Business and professional men and women, judges, college presidents and professors, clergymen, editors and authors comprising the membership of the Associates have assured Phi Beta Kappa of an annual income of $20,000.

The Associates discuss Phi Beta Kappa policies and activities, and may make recommendations to the Senate. With the approval of the Senate, the Associates established in 1942 a national lectureship to assist chapters and associations in bringing noted speakers to their meetings, with special emphasis on the encouragement of college students to prepare for leadership in American life, including local and national political affairs.

Meetings of the Associates have been held annually. They have been addressed by Count Carlo Sforza, John Erskine, Alexander Kerensky, and Y. C. Yang. The meeting in 1942 was symbolic of the sustaining friendship and strength brought to the United Chapters by the new group, for it honored the tenth year of *The American Scholar* by inviting present and past members of the magazine's editorial board and scheduling board members as speakers, led by John Erskine.

During this period the office of the president of the United Chapters was held by Clark Sutherland Northup until 1937, Frank Pierrepont Graves from 1937 to 1940, and Marjorie Hope Nicolson for the next term of three years, which has been prolonged by war-time restrictions that prevented the regular meeting of the Council in 1943. Miss Nicolson was the first woman to become president of Phi Beta Kappa.

In the autumn of 1940 the secretary, William A. Shimer, was appointed dean of the faculty and head of the philosophy department at Bucknell University. By action of the Council he divided his time between Bucknell and the United Chapters office. The division of duties was possible, because of a lessening of the Society's activities during the war period and also because of the executive assistantship of Dorothy E. Blair. Miss Blair added to her previous work, editing *The Key Reporter*, promoting the Associates, and cooperating with chapters and associations

in their programs, the management of the office and the production and promotion of *The American Scholar.*

When in May, 1943, Dr. Shimer was commissioned in the Navy as the commanding officer of a V-12 college unit, his resignation as secretary of the United Chapters was accepted. Miss Blair served as *ad interim* secretary until the election of Hiram Haydn as secretary in February, 1944. Four months later Miss Blair resigned to become director of public relations at Colby Junior College. Dr. Shimer was later elected to the presidency of Marietta College.

The coming into office of a new national secretary of the United Chapters marks a fitting point for a later volume of Phi Beta Kappa to take up the sequel of this story of one hundred and sixty-nine years in the life of a Society that parallels the life of the Nation of which it is an honored part. The end of this phase of Phi Beta Kappa's long life justifies the high hopes held by its founders.

The eagerness of hundreds of colleges and universities to obtain charters, the steady growth in prestige of *The American Scholar,* the developing *esprit de corps,* and the financial security in a living endowment—all these and other factors of lesser moment combine to give Phi Beta Kappa new strength as it looks forward to the postwar decades. More than ever the country and world need its championship of high intellectual capacity well employed and of the responsibility of the educated for social conditions. More than ever Phi Beta Kappa is prepared to exert effective force in behalf of liberal scholarship, the humanities, and intellectual freedom—the basis for a cooperative humanity in a world at peace.

Appendix I

THE ROLL OF CHAPTERS IN THE ORDER OF INSTITUTION

Alpha of Virginia Inactive January 6, 1781, to June 25, 1851, and from 1861 to December 9, 1893.	College of William and Mary	Dec. 5, 1776
Alpha of Connecticut Inactive 1871–1884	Yale College	Nov. 13, 1780
Alpha of Massachusetts	Harvard College	Sept. 6, 1781
Alpha of New Hampshire	Dartmouth College	Aug. 20, 1787
Alpha of New York	Union College	July 22, 1817
Alpha of Maine	Bowdoin College	Feb. 22, 1825
Alpha of Rhode Island	Brown University	July 21, 1830
Beta of Connecticut	Trinity College	July 2, 1845
Gamma of Connecticut	Wesleyan University	July 7, 1845
Alpha of Ohio Inactive several times before 1884	Western Reserve College [1]	Oct. 28, 1847
Alpha of Vermont	University of Vermont	Mar. 7, 1849
Alpha of Alabama Inactive 1861–1912	University of Alabama	July 14, 1851
Beta of Massachusetts	Amherst College	Aug. 9, 1853
Beta of Ohio	Kenyon College	June 29, 1858
Beta of New York	New York University	Dec. 23, 1858
Gamma of Ohio	Marietta College	June 9, 1860
Gamma of Massachusetts	Williams College	July 30, 1864
Gamma of New York	College of the City of New York	July 24, 1867
Beta of Vermont	Middlebury College	Aug. 17, 1868
Alpha of New Jersey	Rutgers College	Feb. 22, 1869
Delta of New York	Columbia College	Apr. 22, 1869
Epsilon of New York	Hamilton College	May —, 1870
Zeta of New York	Hobart College	July 6, 1871
Eta of New York	Madison [Colgate] University	June 19, 1873
Theta of New York	Cornell University	May 28, 1882
Alpha of Pennsylvania	Dickinson College	Apr. 12, 1887
Beta of Pennsylvania	Lehigh University	Apr. 15, 1887
Iota of New York	University of Rochester	Apr. 20, 1887
Alpha of Indiana	DePauw University	Dec. 27, 1889
Alpha of Illinois	Northwestern University	Feb. 18, 1890
Alpha of Kansas	University of Kansas	Apr. 2, 1890
Gamma of Pennsylvania	Lafayette College	Apr. 5, 1890
Delta of Massachusetts	Tufts College	Nov. 18, 1892
Delta of Pennsylvania	University of Pennsylvania	Dec. 9, 1892
Alpha of Minnesota	University of Minnesota	Dec. 13, 1892
Alpha of Iowa	University of Iowa	Sept. 30, 1895
Alpha of Maryland	Johns Hopkins University	Oct. 10, 1895
Alpha of Nebraska	University of Nebraska	Dec. 23, 1895

[1] Now Adelbert College, Western Reserve University.

Beta of Maine	Colby College	Jan. 3, 1896
Kappa of New York	Syracuse University	Feb. 10, 1896
Epsilon of Pennsylvania	Swarthmore College	June 9, 1896
Beta of Indiana	Wabash College	Nov. 7, 1898
Alpha of California	University of California	Dec. 23, 1898
Zeta of Pennsylvania	Haverford College	Jan. 20, 1899
Alpha of Wisconsin	University of Wisconsin	Feb. 2, 1899
Epsilon of Massachusetts	Boston University	Feb. 8, 1899
Mu of New York	Vassar College	Apr. 7, 1899
Delta of Ohio	University of Cincinnati	Apr. 7, 1899
Beta of New Jersey	Princeton University	June 7, 1899
Lambda of New York	St. Lawrence University	June 24, 1899
Beta of Illinois	University of Chicago	July 1, 1899
Alpha of Tennessee	Vanderbilt University	Nov. 5, 1901
Alpha of Missouri	University of Missouri	Dec. 5, 1901
Delta of New York	Barnard College, Columbia University [2]	June 7, 1901
Eta of Pennsylvania	Allegheny College	Feb. 18, 1902
Alpha of Colorado	University of Colorado	Oct. 18, 1904
Zeta of Massachusetts	Smith College	Oct. 19, 1904
Beta of California	Leland Stanford Jr. University	Nov. 1, 1904
Alpha of North Carolina	College of Arts and Sciences, University of North Carolina	Nov. 7, 1904
Beta of Colorado	Colorado College	Nov. 11, 1904
Eta of Massachusetts	Wellesley College	Nov. 14, 1904
Epsilon of Ohio	Ohio State University	Dec. 8, 1904
Theta of Massachusetts	Mount Holyoke College	Jan. 30, 1905
Alpha of Texas	University of Texas	Feb. 2, 1905
Beta of Maryland	Goucher College	Feb. 24, 1905
Alpha of Ohio	Flora Stone Mather College, Western Reserve University [3]	May 10, 1906
Zeta of Ohio	Oberlin College	Nov. 8, 1907
Eta of Ohio	Ohio Wesleyan University	Nov. 9, 1907
Gamma of Illinois	University of Illinois	Nov. 11, 1907
Alpha of Michigan	University of Michigan	Nov. 13, 1907
Theta of Pennsylvania	Franklin and Marshall College	Jan. 20, 1908
Beta of Iowa	Grinnell College	Apr. 11, 1908
Beta of Virginia	University of Virginia	June 16, 1908
Alpha of Louisiana	Tulane University of Louisiana	Feb. 26, 1909
Alpha of West Virginia	West Virginia University	Dec. 5, 1910
Theta of Ohio	Denison University	Jan. 18, 1911
Gamma of Indiana	University of Indiana	Jan. 20, 1911
Iota of Ohio	Miami University	June 14, 1911
Beta of Wisconsin	Beloit College	June 19, 1911
Gamma of Wisconsin	Lawrence College	Feb. 20, 1914
Gamma of California	Pomona College	Mar. 7, 1914
Alpha of Georgia	University of Georgia	Mar. 14, 1914
Beta of Minnesota	Carleton College	Mar. 31, 1914
Alpha of Washington	University of Washington	Apr. 20, 1914
Iota of Massachusetts	Radcliffe College	May 11, 1914
Beta of Missouri	Washington University	May 13, 1914
Alpha of North Dakota	University of North Dakota	June 13, 1914

[2] First section of the Delta of New York.
[3] Section of the Alpha of Ohio.

Delta of Illinois	Knox College	Feb. 15, 1917
Delta of Virginia	Randolph-Macon Woman's College	May 5, 1917
Gamma of Maine	Bates College	May 29, 1917
Beta of North Carolina	Trinity College (Duke University)	Mar. 29, 1920
Beta of Washington	Whitman College	Jan. 20, 1920
Nu of New York	Hunter College	Feb. 11, 1920
Alpha of Oklahoma	University of Oklahoma	May 24, 1920
Alpha of New Jersey	New Jersey College for Women, Rutgers University [4]	June 10, 1922
Iota of Pennsylvania	Gettysburg College	Jan. 11, 1923
Delta of Maine	University of Maine	Jan. 26, 1923
Gamma of North Carolina	Davidson College	Mar. 1, 1923
Alpha of Oregon	University of Oregon	Apr. 14, 1923
Gamma of Iowa	Drake University	Apr. 19, 1923
Delta of Iowa	Cornell College	May 3, 1923
Zeta of Virginia	Randolph-Macon College [5]	May 3, 1923
Beta of New York	Washington Square College, New York University [6]	June 6, 1923
Alpha of Kentucky	University of Kentucky	Mar. 12, 1926
Beta of Tennessee	University of the South	Mar. 16, 1926
Beta of Georgia	Agnes Scott College	Mar. 23, 1926
Alpha of South Carolina	University of South Carolina	Apr. 8, 1926
Kappa of Ohio	Wooster College	Apr. 20, 1926
Alpha of South Dakota	University of South Dakota	June 4, 1926
Delta of California	Occidental College	May 12, 1926
Alpha of Idaho	University of Idaho	June 6, 1926
Beta of Texas	Rice Institute	Mar. 1, 1929
Epsilon of California	University of Southern California	Mar. 14, 1929
Zeta of California	Mills College	Mar. 16, 1929
Gamma of Georgia	Emory University	Apr. 5, 1929
Gamma of Washington	Washington State College	Apr. 6, 1929
Epsilon of Virginia	Richmond University	Apr. 12, 1929
Lambda of Ohio	Ohio University	Apr. 26, 1929
Delta of New York	Bard College [7]	June 8, 1930
Eta of California	University of California, Los Angeles [8]	June 14, 1930
Kappa of Massachusetts	Wheaton College	Mar. 18, 1932
Alpha of Arkansas	University of Arkansas	Apr. 4, 1932
Alpha of Arizona	University of Arizona	Apr. 20, 1932
Epsilon of Illinois	Illinois College	Apr. 6, 1932
Xi of New York	Wells College	May 7, 1932
Alpha of North Carolina	Woman's College, University of North Carolina [9]	Dec. 12, 1934
Alpha of Utah	University of Utah	Jan. 3, 1935
Delta of Connecticut	Connecticut College for Women	Feb. 13, 1935
Alpha of Florida	Florida State College for Women	Mar. 5, 1935

[4] Section of the Alpha of New Jersey.

[5] Chartered as a section of the Delta of Virginia; elevated to chapter status on February 3, 1938.

[6] Section of the Beta of New York.

[7] Second section of the Delta of New York. Dissolved in 1944 after Bard College was separated from Columbia University.

[8] Section of the Alpha of California; elevated to chapter status on January 14, 1938.

[9] Section of the Alpha of North Carolina.

Delta of Pennsylvania	College of Liberal Arts for Women, University of Pennsylvania [10]	May 16, 1935
Lambda of Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania State College	Dec. 7, 1937
Kappa of Pennsylvania	Washington and Jefferson College	Oct. 30, 1937
Beta of Alabama	Birmingham-Southern College	Nov. 26, 1937
Omicron of New York	University of Buffalo	Jan. 29, 1938
Beta of Florida	University of Florida	Feb. 18, 1938
Alpha of the District of Columbia	George Washington University	Feb. 22, 1938
Beta of Oregon	Reed College	May 6, 1938
Gamma of Minnesota	College of St. Catherine	May 17, 1938
Mu of Pennsylvania	Bucknell University	Nov. 7, 1940
Beta of Michigan	Albion College	Nov. 8, 1940
Gamma of Colorado	University of Denver	Nov. 25, 1940
Alpha of Wyoming	University of Wyoming	Nov. 26, 1940
Pi of New York	Elmira College	Nov. 29, 1940
Delta of North Carolina	Wake Forest College	Jan. 13, 1941
Beta of South Carolina	Wofford College	Jan. 14, 1941
Beta of the District of Columbia	Catholic University of America	Jan. 15, 1942

[10] Section of the Delta of Pennsylvania.

Appendix II

OFFICERS OF THE UNITED CHAPTERS

PRESIDENTS	*Years of Service*
Charles William Eliot (Harvard 1853)	1883–1886
Matthew Hale (Vermont 1851)	1886–1889
Thomas Wentworth Higginson (Harvard 1841)	1889–1895
Henry Codman Potter (Hobart 1885, Hon.)	1895–1898
John A. DeRemer (Union 1857)	1898–1907
Edwin Augustus Grosvenor (Amherst 1867)	1907–1919
Edward Asahel Birge (Williams 1873)	1919–1922
Charles Franklin Thwing (Harvard 1876)	1922–1928
Clark Sutherland Northup (Cornell 1893)	1928–1937
Frank Pierrepont Graves (Columbia 1890)	1937–1940
Marjorie Hope Nicolson (Michigan 1914)	1940–

VICE-PRESIDENTS	
Matthew Hale (Vermont 1851)	1883–1886
Thomas Wentworth Higginson (Harvard 1841)	1886–1889
Francis Philip Nash (Harvard 1856)	1889–1892
Adolf Werner (C.C.N.Y. 1867)	1892–1895
John A. DeRemer (Union 1857)	1895–1898
James Cooke VanBenschoten (Amherst 1855, Hon.)	1898–1902
Eben Burt Parsons (Williams 1864)	1904–1907
John James McCook (Kenyon 1866)	1907–1913
Edward Asahel Birge (Williams 1873)	1913–1919
Francis Wayland Shepardson (Brown 1884)	1919–1928
Ellen Fitz Pendleton (Wellesley 1906)	1928–1934
Robert Andrews Millikan (Oberlin 1910)	1934–1937
Marjorie Hope Nicolson (Michigan 1914)	1937–1940
John Kirkland Clark (Yale 1899)	1940–

SECRETARIES	
Adolf Werner (C.C.N.Y. 1867)	1883–1889
Eben Burt Parsons (Williams 1864)	1889–1901
Oscar McMurtrie Voorhees (Rutgers 1888)	1901–1931
William Allison Shimer (Harvard 1918)	1931–1943
Dorothy E. Blair, Assistant Secretary (served as *ad interim* secretary)	1943–1944
Hiram Haydn (Amherst 1928)	1944–

TREASURERS	
Adolf Werner (C.C.N.Y. 1867)	1883–1889
Eben Burt Parsons (Williams 1864)	1889–1901
Oscar McMurtrie Voorhees (Rutgers 1888)	1901–1913
David Layton (Rutgers 1894)	1913–1934
Warren Randolph Burgess (Brown 1912)	1934–1937
Whitney Hart Shepardson (Colgate 1910)	1937–1940
George Dana Graves (Yale 1899)	1940–

Appendix III

SENATORS	*Years of Service*
Adams, Charles K. (Vermont 1876, Hon.)	1889–1895
Alderman, Edwin A. (William and Mary 1908, Hon.)	1925–1931
Alexander, Eben (Yale 1873)	1907–1910
Allen, Florence Ellinwood (Western Res. 1906)	1931–1934
Angell, James B. (Brown 1849)	1883–1892
Angell, James R. (Michigan 1890)	1925–1931
Aydelotte, Frank (Indiana 1911)	1937–
Baldwin, Simeon E. (Yale 1861)	1895–1901
Bancroft, Edgar A. (Knox 1878)	1916–1922
Birge, Edward A. (Williams 1873)	1904–
Brooks, Phillips (Harvard 1855)	1892–1893
Brown, Francis (Dartmouth 1870)	1913–1916
Butler, Nicholas Murray (Columbia 1882)	1907–1913
Carmichael, Oliver Cromwell (Alabama 1924)	1940–
Chandler, Julian A. C. (William and Mary 1899)	1931–1934
Chapman, Henry L. (Bowdoin 1866)	1895–1913
Chase, George Henry (Harvard 1896)	1934–
Choate, Joseph H. (Harvard 1852)	1883–1892, 1898–1904
Clark, John Kirkland (Yale 1899)	1934–
Conant, James Bryant (Harvard 1914)	1934–1940
Crawford, Wm. H. (Northwestern 1892)	1934–1937
Curtis, George William (Brown 1855)	1883–1889
Davis, John W. (Washington and Lee 1892)	1928–1934
Denny, George Hutcheson (Washington and Lee 1911)	1931–1937
DeRemer, John A. (Union 1857)	1883–1907
Dwight, Theodore W. (Hamilton 1840)	1883–1892
Eliot, Charles W. (Harvard 1853)	1883–1886
Farr, Hollon A. (Yale 1896)	1934–1940
Field, Walbridge A. (Dartmouth 1855)	1883–1886
Filene, Lincoln (William and Mary 1923, Hon.)	1940–
Finley, John H. (Knox 1887)	1913–1919, 1922–1940
Flickinger, Roy C. (Northwestern 1899)	1940–1942
Ford, Guy Stanton (Wisconsin 1913)	1931–1933, 1937–
Fosdick, Raymond B. (Princeton 1905)	1928–1934
Frothingham, Octavius B. (Harvard 1843)	1883–1895
Gates, Merrill E. (Rutgers 1883, Hon.)	1892–1898
Gauss, Christian (Princeton 1912, Hon.)	1934–
Gildersleeve, Virginia C. (Columbia 1899)	1916–1925
Gilman, Daniel C. (Yale 1852)	1886–1901
Godfrey, Hollis (Tufts 1895)	1916–1922

[1] Elected Senator for Life in 1922.

Graves, Frank P. (Columbia 1890)	1928–
[2] Grosvenor, Edwin A. (Amherst 1867)	1901–1936
Hale, Edward Everett (Harvard 1839)	1883–1909
Hale, Matthew (Vermont 1851)	1883–1895
Hall, Charles C. (Williams 1872)	1907–1908
Hancock, Theodore E. (Wesleyan 1871)	1898–1910
[3] Hart, Samuel (Trinity 1866)	1892–1917
Hastings, William T. (Brown 1903)	1937–
Hatfield, Henry R. (Northwestern 1892)	1922–1928
Hibben, John Grier (Princeton 1899)	1913–1919, 1931–1933
[4] Higginson, Thomas Wentworth (Harvard 1841)	1883–1911
Hill, David Jayne (Rochester 1890, Hon.)	1919–1925
Holmes, Oliver Wendell (Harvard 1829)	1883–1889
Howe, Will D. (Indiana 1911, Hon.)	1933–
Hughes, Charles Evans (Brown 1881)	1922–1928
Hurst, John F. (DePauw 1891, Hon.)	1895–1901
Jack, Theodore H. (Alabama 1918)	1934–
Jones, Adam Leroy (Columbia 1929, Hon.)	1933–1934
Kenyon, Dorothy (Smith 1908)	1940–
Kingsley, Darwin P. (Vermont 1881)	1916–1931
[5] Lamb, William (William and Mary 1855)	1895–1909
Lane, William C. (Harvard 1881)	1916–1925
Lewinson, Benno (C. C. N. Y. 1873)	1925–1931
Lipman, Charles B. (Univ. of Cal. Berk. 1933, Hon.)	1940–1944
Lippmann, Walter (Harvard 1910)	1934–1940
Low, Seth (Columbia 1870)	1892–1904
Lowell, A. Lawrence (Harvard 1877)	1910–1925
Lowell, James Russell (Harvard 1839)	1886–1891
Mabie, Hamilton W. (Williams 1867)	1898–1916
March, Francis A. (Amherst 1845)	1892–1904
Martin, Benjamin N. (Union 1852, Hon.)	1883–1883
Maxfield, Mrs. Berton L. (Boston 1898)	1925–1928
McCain, James Ross (Agnes Scott 1929, Hon.)	1937–
McCook, John J. (Kenyon 1866)	1904–1911
McCrea, Nelson G. (Columbia 1885)	1925–1937
MacLean, George E. (Williams 1871)	1907–1913
Millikan, Robert A. (Oberlin 1910)	1931–1937
Morris, Dave Hennen (Harvard 1935)	1940–1944
Morrow, Dwight W. (Amherst 1895)	1928–1931
Morse, David S. (New York University 1917)	1944–
Murray, Augustus T. (California 1905, Hon.)	1907–1913
Nash, Francis P. (Harvard 1856)	1883–1901
Neilson, William A. (Harvard 1913, Hon.)	1919–1925

[2] Elected Senator for Life in 1919.
[3] Elected Senator for Life in 1916
[4] Elected Senator for Life in 1904.
[5] Elected Senator for Life in 1907.

Nicolson, Marjorie Hope (Michigan 1914)	1937–
Northup, Clark S. (Cornell 1893)	1910–1940
Padelford, Frederick Morgan (Colby 1896)	1937–1942
Page, James M. (William and Mary 1905, Hon.)	1910–1913
Parsons, Eben B. (Williams 1859)	1889–1907
Pendleton, Ellen F. (Wellesley 1886)	1910–1936
Perry, Bliss (Williams 1881)	1910–1916
Potter, Henry C. (Hobart 1885, Hon.)	1886–1898
Pound, Roscoe (Nebraska 1896)	1937–
Reed, Edward B. (Yale 1894)	1907–1916
Remsen, Ira (C. C. N. Y. 1893)	1901–1907
Robertson, David A. (Chicago 1902)	1931–
Rockefeller, John D., Jr. (Brown 1897)	1922–1928
Root, Elihu (Hamilton 1864)	1892–1895
Schelling, Felix E. (Pennsylvania 1881)	1916–1922
Scudder, Horace E. (Williams 1858)	1898–1902
[6] Shaw, Albert (William and Mary 1904, Hon.)	1913–
Shepardson, Francis W. (Brown 1884)	1913–1937
Shorey, Paul (Harvard 1878)	1919–1931
Steever, Miller D. (Lafayette 1921)	1940–
Storrs, Richard S. (Amherst 1839)	1883–1892
Strauss, Oscar S. (Columbia 1871)	1907–1910
Suzzallo, Henry (Stanford 1905)	1931–1933
Taylor, James M. (Brown 1886, Hon.)	1904–1916
[7] Thwing, Charles F. (Harvard 1876)	1895–1937
Tigert, John James (Vanderbilt 1904)	1931–
VanBenschoten, James C. (Amherst 1855, Hon.)	1898–1902
Vanderbilt, Arthur T. (Wesleyan 1910)	1942–
Vincent, George E. (Yale 1885)	1913–1919
Voorhees, Oscar McMurtrie (Rutgers 1888)	1901–
Walker, Francis A. (Amherst 1860)	1883–1897
Walters, Raymond (Lehigh 1923, Hon.)	1937–
Webster, Harrison E. (Union 1868)	1889–1895
Werner, Adolph (C. C. N. Y. 1857)	1883–1907
Wheeler, Benjamin Ide (Brown 1875)	1901–1907
White, Goodrich C. (Emory 1929, Alumnus)	1937–
Whitney, William D. (Williams 1854)	1886–1892
Williams, Talcott (Amherst 1873)	1904–1928
Winsor, Justin (Harvard 1853)	1883–1889
Woodford, Stewart L. (Columbia 1854)	1883–1892
[8] Woolley, Mary E. (Brown 1894)	1931–
Wright, John H. (Dartmouth 1873)	1883–1886
Young, Owen D. (Lawrence 1902)	1928–1940

[6] Elected Senator for Life in 1934.
[7] Elected Senator for Life in 1928.
[8] Elected Senator for Life in 1937.

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